INDIAN EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THESIS

INDIAN EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

Submitted by

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TOPICAL OUTLINE

TOPICAL OUTLINE - Continued

TOPICAL OUTLINE - Continued

INTRODUCTION

It is of interest to consider the education of the Indian population of New England. Alexander Gallatin in the Archaelogia Americana (1842) was responsible for the convenient generalization, "The New England Indians", a term for a group of Algonquin tribes using a number of related dialects and inhabiting a large part of New England with one or two enclaves in the adjacent parts of New York. With them only have we to do here; more especially with that part who inhabited the present state of Massachusetts.

Two other groups, the Wabanaqui tribes of Maine, the Maritime Provinces and vicinity, of whom Samoset, who visited the Pilgrims, is our most familiar individual; and the Mahikanni of our Hudson Valley, east to the Berkshires where they acquired the designation of Stockbridges; inhabited parts of New England. Both have interesting educational history but do not concern us here.

With sufficient time and research, each of the following chapters might be enlarged into a distinct and valuable study because this has been a neglected field. The would-be definitive work of Sylvanus Morley upon the Mayas to a casual inspection does not even hint at the education of that people. The Archive file of the State of Massachusetts is almost wholly concerned with other areas; but information is to be found, if rather sketchy and not easily accessible.

INTRODUCTION - Continued

A few subjects like the Indian use of the Grammar School at Cambridge have merited more attention than they receive here. The problem of Indian apprenticeship and population loss, as well as loss of culture and language, can be no more than mentioned in this study.

The writer believes that historical research is best carried out through the use of source materials presented to give as true a picture of the situation as possible.

One thing does need mention - the use of proper names derived from the Indian language. There can be no justification of the use of the current spelling of Massachusetts in designating either the tribe or the language it spoke. The present word is either a possessive or a nominative plural, and came into use as an abbreviation of the old name of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Indian names must be spelled phonetically, but admissably this allows a great deal of latitude. The only qualification for any spelling is that it must either represent actual usage or a form that might have been used but which cannot be traced. This allows sufficient freedom. Cochicawick is supposed to have been spelled 163 different ways for example.

One thing which we cannot now explain is the change of many proper names, as Hosseuit to Howwaswee; Popmunnuck to Pocknet. The principles under which this was done have never been clearly demonstrated.

INTRODUCTION - Continued

Two notes should be made here. It has been impossible yet to prove that the Declaration of June 1676 to the Hostile Indians in King Philip's War was in the Indian language; although the force of probability is that it was; and the authority for the existence of library vaults at Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and Tezcuco is inaccessible. The fact remains probable.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I : ABORIGINAL AMERICAN EDUCATION

The Red Race The exact place of the Red Man in the history of the Human Race it is not our task to decide. Suffice it to observe that, thanks to the greater consideration now given to the past present and future of our fellow-nations of America, he is coming to receive more recognition than before, and his contributions are less forgotten.

It has been thought that the Red Man was at best a conquered and dying people; and that his contribution, ignored, wisely or not, in the history of the Past, had ceased utterly to affect the culture of the World in the Present and Future. These thoughts are now admittedly not so. The Red Man is dominant numerically in several American states: in North America, in Greenland and Mexico; in Central America in Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador and some Maya states; and in South America in Ecuador, Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru; and in much intermediate territory between these states.

His chief contributions have been two-fold: rendering his own replacement possible, and in enriching the lives of his successors with material blessings. Intellectual progress occurred as well, but not, as it happened, to the advantage of the world. In the wholesale destruction of Amerindian books and records in the libraries of Chichen-Itza, Tenochtitlan (Mexico City), Tezcuco (the American Athens) and elsewhere, not only at, but long after the Conquest, whatever potential contributions Red America might have brought to the World Fund of

Science and Knowledge was deliberately dissipated in a fanatical au to-da-fe.

Saying this, that intellectual progress was achieved, is evidenced from the few books, but especially the many stelae, and other inscriptions and monuments which have survived the Maya, Mexican and Peruvian worlds. About the third century the powerful Maya Empire stood high in the culture of the World. The Maya were the first people known to invent the concept of zero, centuries before Europe. The principle of printing was known to them as it was to the Greco-Roman world. We must admit that in the use of the wheel, the sail, the use of draught animals and in other ways America was definitely behind the Eurasian world; but these discrepancies have been much exaggerated. In road building, especially considering the character of their traffic, and in the construction of fortresses, aqueducts, and works of irrigation the civilized peoples of America ranked high. The weight of their contribution has been in the utilization of material resources. They cultivated maize, their staple, from an original not known with certainty, which they converted to many uses and developed into many varieties for specialized purposes. They carried it over much of its wide climatical range; where it is still the leading agricultural product of the United States, of Mexico, and elsewhere. They cultivated the squash, the American varieties of beans (which are the most familiar to us), the potato (of South America), the sweet (or true) potato, the cassava (whence tap-

ioca), the tomato and tobacco which successfully defied James the First, and "has conquered the Whole Earth". Nor are these all, but lack of space puts a period to our list. Perhaps the Peruvian Empire contributed more plants to cultivation than any other area of equal size on the surface of the Globe. Nor were they limited to practical plants but utilized ornamentals as the tithonia, the four-o'clock and nasturtium. In the animal realm, Peru (the only part of America which had a true Pastoral Age) had the llama for draught and the alpaca for wool while almost all America had the dog, of which several of the American breeds such as the Eskimo are still superlatively useful in their particular field. Parrots and turkeys were widely domesticated, bees kept for honey, and cochineal raised to provide a vivid red dye. In the field of food they gave us cacao, whence chocolate, maple sugar, the complicated manufacture of tapioca, pemmican, and the flavors and spices of cayenne pepper and vanilla. In clothing, the mocassin and other contributions less familiar were made. In sport the game of la crosse, and the toboggan, which last has preserved an aboriginal name. In transportation, they gave us the canoe, the Eskimo kayak and the snowshoe. They also gave us the use of rubber, the medical properties of cinchona and many more. The art of barbecue and the Eskimo igloo were their inventions. Two we have forgotten, but the World will not forget, the cigar and the tobacco pipe, to the inventor of which, Lord Fairfax, the friend of George Washington, thought a monument

should be erected. None is necessary.

Education among the Civilized Peoples The many branches of the Red Race varied greatly in achievement approaching the state of Civilization in several areas most notably in Mexico, Central America, Colombia and Peru. The education of the young in early Mexico and Central America at the time of the Conquest has been compared with that of contemporary Europe.

In Mexico[1] They sent their children to a public school (techputcalli) built near the temple in which for three years they were instructed in religion. The nobles had their children educated in the seminaries (calmenac) which were very numerous in the Empire. Priests devoted exclusively to the task of instructing young men, were ceaselessly occupied in these establishments and matrons of recognized respectability directed those in which young girls were received. Every care was taken to inspire children with a horror of vice, with modesty of action, respect for their elders, and love of work. They were made to sleep on a mat, and were furnished with only enough food to support life. When they reached the age of puberty, they were taught the use of arms. If they were the sons of soldiers, they accompanied their fathers to battle in order that they might learn the military art and lose all fear of danger. If the father was an artisan he taught the young boy

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[1]Lucien Biart The Aztecs pp. 214-215 Paris 1885

his own trade. The mothers taught their daughters to spin and weave at an early age. Children of both sexes were kept occupied- a good and healthy rule.

Of higher schools we know little: but we do know that Tezcuco had schools of art[1], and that there were hieroglyphic libraries at Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) and Tezcuco, and doubtless elsewhere[2].

In Central America Here our information is less extensive. A search through the index with a cursory glance through the whole of Sylvanus Morley's definitive and exhaustive book on the Maya, does not touch upon the important subject of Education. No Maya wrote in Spanish to explain the culture of his people. Only the writings of Bishop Landa who first destroyed as many Maya manuscripts as he could get (only three or four remain; but there are many inscriptions some part of which can be read, and the books of Chilan Balan written in Roman characters) and then he left us a key to the Maya alphabet which has not been used with much success. It is customary, but doubtless will prove mistaken, to emphasize the sacerdotal and cabalistic character of Indian education in the civilized centers. Juarros: Compendio de Guatemala, tome 1 p. 87 remarks:

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[2] see introduction

Among the various sumtious edifices at Utatlan (capital of Quiche, one of the most important states that are now comprised in Guatemala. The people and language of Quiche are still prominent there) was the College, having a staff of seventy teachers and five of six thousand pupils who were educated at public expense.

What he has told us of Utatlan was probably true of many other cities of early America in greater or less degree. Landa wrote of Yucatan[1], (1565) "The sciences that they (the Mayas) taught were the reckoning of the years, months and days, the feasts and years, months and days, the ceremonies, the administration of their sacraments, the fatal days and seasons, their methods of divination and prophecy (The great Issac Newton, discoverer of the law of gravitation as well as his great scientific discovery is said to have left extensive work in astrology. So, perhaps we will not censor the superstitions of this people.) events about to happen, remedies for diseases, their ancient history, together with the art of reading and writing their books with characters which were written and pictures which represented the things written.

They wrote their books in a large sheet doubled into folds which was afterwards enclosed between boards; which they decorated handsomely. They were written from side to side in collumns as they were folded. They manufactured this paper from the roots of a tree and gave it a white surface on which they could write. Some of the principal nobles cultivated

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[1]Clark Wissler The American Indian (3rd. ed.) Oxford University Press New York 1938

these sciences out of a taste for them, and although they did not make public use of them as did the priests, yet they were the most highly esteemed for this knowledge."

Peru Peru is of interest for several reasons. Like Yucatan and Guatemala she has less lost her own language and traditions. Without a written language, she developed a substitute, the quipu to a remarkable extent (it seems not yet completely forgotten among the llama tenders of the Sierra) and carried the technical phases of civilization to a higher point than other American peoples. John Howland Rowe, in Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946)[1]:

Most children learned only by helping their parents. Formal instruction was reserved for the nobility and the Chosen Women. The Chosen Women were taught religion, spinning, weaving, cooking, chicha-making at the convents to which they were sent when first selected at about the age of ten. This instruction lasted for about four years and prepared the girls to serve as MAMA-KONA (consecrated women) or as wives of nobles whom the Emperor wished to honor.

We are told[2]:

When the Inca Roca[3], founded the Yacha-hausi, or College at Cuzco, he enunciated a great social principle, namely that the children of the common people should not learn the sciences which should be known only by the nobles lest the lower classes should become proud and endanger the commonwealth (insinuating that hitherto no such line had been drawn. The University of San Marcos, founded at Lima, 1551 which is the oldest insti-

[1] John Howland Rowe, Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest, pp. 282-3 in Handbook of South American Indians Washington 1946

[2] Philip A. Means, Ancient Civilization of the Andes p. 305 New York, 1931.

[3] Clement Markham, The Inca Civilization in Peru p. 232 in vol. 1 Narrative and Critical History of North America gives the date 1340, which may be late. ed. Justin Winsor

tution of higher learning in the New World with only a short hiatus preserved the continuity of education in Peru with changes admittedly in language and location - A university still stands on the ancient Incaic Square in Cuzco on Inca foundations of stone.)

In the time of the Inca, Pachacutec (Markham's date 1400 is probably late) the College was greatly enlarged and improved, remaining however, true to the ideal of its founder.

Garcilaso Inca de la Vega, the native authority tells us:

In the Inca language they call the schools, Yacha-hausi which means 'the house of teaching'. Here lived the wise men and masters of that commonwealth called Amautas or philosophers and Haravecs or poets. They were much esteemed by the Incas and by all the people. Many disciples lived with them, chiefly of the blood royal.

The Amauta-cuna and the Haravec-cuna constituted together an extremely important section of the nobility, perhaps in some cases of the Imperial caste; for in their hands were concentrated all the wisdom and all the intellectual amenities of life under the Incaic regime.

They had therefor an immense and irresistible influence over the formation of the collective mentality of the elite to use Proffessor Baudin's term- of the Empire. It is not too much to say that the Yacha-hausi was the brain of the State. The course of instruction according to Morva was one of five years. In the first year the lords who had come from the provinces where Quichua was not spoken were taught that language. The second year was taken up with a study of theology, ritual and kindred matters, the third year the pupils began to learn how to understand the quipu or knot record. The fourth and final year they went further into that study, learning history and many other things from the knot records. Thus we see that as the college received not only members of the Imperial caste but also youths of the provincial nobility. This formed an integral part of the Inca policy of having the heirs of provincial chiefs reside in and be educated in Cuzco where besides being hostages for the good behavior of their parents they could be deeply imbued with the Incaic idea and so come to be important agents for the dissemination of pro-Incaic propaganda.

Education in the Aboriginal U.S. In what is now the United States,

The Apache boy had for pedagogues his father and grandfather, who began early to teach him counting, to run on level ground, then up and down hill, to break branches from trees, to jump into cold water and to race, the whole training tending

to make him skilful, strong and fearless. The girl was trained in part by her mother, but chiefly by the grandmother, the discipline beginning as soon as the child could control her movements but never becoming regular or severe. It consisted in rising early, carrying water, helping about the house, cooking and minding children. At six the little girl took her first lessons in basketry with yucca leaves. Later on decorated baskets, headwork and dress were her care.[1]

Loskiel (pl 139) says the Iroquois are particularly attentive to the education of the young people for the future government of the state and for this purpose admit a boy generally the nephew of the principal chief to the Council and solemn feast following it.

Much of the education of the Ojibways, for example had to do with picture writing. Squier tells us:[2]

Most of the signs used in this system are representations of things: some, however, were derivative, others symbolical, and still others entirely arbitrary. They however were not capable of doing more than to suggest classes of ideas, which would not be expressed in precisely the same words by different individuals. They were taught in connection with certain forms of expression, by which means they are made essentially mnemonic- a simple or compound sign, thus serving to recall to mind an entire sentence. A single figure, with its adjuncts, would stand for the verse of a song, or for a circumstance which it would require several sentences to explain.

Thus the famous Metai song of the Chippeways, presented by Mr. Catlin, although embracing but about thirty signs, occupied in the slow, monotonous chant of the Indians, with their numerous repetitions, nearly an hour in its delivery. James observes, respecting the recorded Indian songs- "They are usually carved on a flat piece of wood, and the figures suggest to the minds of those who have learned the songs, the ideas and the order of their succession. The words are not variable, but must be taught; otherwise, though from an inspection of the figure the idea might be comprehended, no one would know what to sing." Most of the Indian lore being in the hands of the priests or medicine-men, the teaching of these songs was almost entirely monopolized by them. They taught them only to such as had distinguished themselves in war and

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[1]Article Education in Handbook of the North American Indians vol. 1 pp. 414-5 by Otis T. Mason of the U.S. National Museum

[2]E.G. Squier, Traditions of the Algonquins, pp. 15-16, in Beach's Indian Miscellany, Albany 1877, ed W.W. Beach

the chase, and then only upon the payment of large prices. Tanner states that he was occupied more than a year in learning the great song for "medicine hunting", and then obtained the knowledge at the expense of many beaver skins. After the introduction of Christianity, among some of the Western tribes, prayers were inscribed on pieces of wood, in mnemonic symbols, in the making of which to their followers, some of the Christian chiefs obtained a profitable monopoly.

One of the most interesting accounts of Indian education in present United States is Indian Boyhood by Ohiyesa[1], which is told in a very informal manner and forms in a general way the recollections of the author. He tells how Uncheedah, his grandmother brought up Ohiyesa and Chatanna: (p.77)

Very often we discussed some topic before our common instructor, or answered her questions together, in order to show which had the readier mind.

"To what tribe does the lizard belong?" inquired Uncheedah, upon one of these occasions. "To the four-legged tribe," I shouted.

Oesedah, with her usual quickness, flashed out the answer: "It belongs to the creeping tribe."

The Indians divided all animals into four general classes: first, those that walk upon four legs; second, those that fly; third, those that swim with fins; fourth, those that creep... Then (p. 115 seq.) he went to Smoky Day to hear the legends of his people recounted. There is not time to tell the whole account, but we will give his description of the man: Smoky Day was widely known among us as a preserver of history and legend. He was a living book of the traditions and history of his people. Among his effects were bundles of small sticks, notched and painted. One bundle contained the number of his own years. Another was composed of sticks representing the important events of history, each of which was marked with the number of years since that particular event occurred. For instance, there was the year when so many stars fell from the sky, with the number of years since it happened cut into the wood. Another recorded the appearance of a comet; and from these heavenly wonders the great national catastrophes and victories were reckoned...

So it was to him that Ohiyesa went, with a piece of tobacco and an eagle feather to hear him tell "of some of the brave deeds of our people in remote times."

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[1]Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa) Indian Boyhood pp. 77, 115 seq. New York, McClure, Philips and Company 1902.

Aboriginal Education in New England The aboriginal education of New England did not occur to our authorities as a topic in which anyone would ever feel any interest. As a result only Josselyn gives it more than passing notice; and of the others only Roger Williams speaks of it at all, which is unfortunate as while Williams is a quite trustworthy observer, Josselyn never had the long acquaintance with the Aborigines that he had; yet we must take his testimony with all its shortcomings as a contribution of progress that was never fulfilled.[1]

Their learning is very little or none. Poets they are[2] as may be guessed by their formal speeches, sometimes an hour long, the last word of a line riming with the last word of the following line and the whole doth Constare expedibus. Musical, too, they be, having many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feastings; but instruments they had none before the English came amongst them, since they have initiated them and will make out kitts and string them as neatly and as artificially as the best Fiddlemaker amongst us; and will play our plain lessons very exactly, the only fiddler that was in the Province of Meyn, when I was there, was an Indian called Scozway, whom the fisherman and planters when they had a mind to be merry, made use of.

Arithmetic they skill not, reckoning to ten upon their fingers, and if more doubling it by holding their fingers up.

Williams[3] gives numbers up to 100,000 in the Narraganset dialect. Somewhere the sum of 100,000 occurs in one of the speeches of the Narraganset Sachems. Williams says:

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[1] John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England, made during the years 1638, 1663 London 1673, reprinted Boston 1865 pp. 105-6.

[2] Much of the Walum Olum, the literary production of the Lenni Lenapi, is in verse.

[3] Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America pp. 22-26 London, printed by Gregory Dexter 1643, reprint, Providence, 1936

Having no Letters nor Arts, 'tis admirable how quick they are in casting up great numbers, with the helpe of graines of corne, instead of Europes pens or counters.

We may see survivals of Indian arithmetic in the early method of voting in the Massachusetts General Court with beans and grains of Indian corn; which has been kept up by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

They reckon by Moons and their actions by sleeps, as, if they go a journie, or are to do any other business they will say, three sleeps me walk, or two or three sleeps me do such a thing that is two or three days.

Astronomie too they have no knowledge of, seldom or never taking observation of the stars, eclipses or comets that I could perceive; but they will prognostigate shrewdly what weather will out. They are generally excellent zenagogues or guides through their Countrie.

Their exercises are hunting and fishing, in both they will take abundance of pains.

A letter is the Eliot Tracts[1] tells us of the wisest Indian by general consent in New England:

When Foxun, the Mohegan Counsellor, who is counted the wisest Indian in the Country, was in the Bay[2], I did on purpose bring him unto you; and when he was here, you saw he was a foole in comparison of you, for you could speak of God and Christ, and heaven and repentance and faith, but he sate and had not one word to say unless you talked of such poor things as hunting, wars, &c.

Foxun was the counsellor of Uncas, the famous Mohegan sachem, and obtained as we have seen considerable prominence although he was not a Sachem by blood. From the above we have a hint as to what Indian wisdom consisted of.

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[1]Letter from John Eliot in Thomas Sheperd's The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking forth upon the Indians in New England pp. 27-28 London 1648 reprinted Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society vol 24 p. 57 Cambridge 1834

[2]Massachusetts Bay Colony

There are several references to the Indians' preservation of their annals, which as in other lands, may be considered as a part of their transmitted knowledge. Edward Winslow tells us:[1]

> Instead of records and chronicles they take this course where any remarkable action is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep and as much over which when others passing by behold they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men as occasion serveth therewith and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident as men pass by they will oft renew the same; by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth if he can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious by reason of the many historical discourses will be related unto him.

The use of cairns to commemorate historical events, or perhaps for other purposes had not been abandoned when the writer visited Herring Pond in 1928; although the significance of the cairns had long been forgotten.

It is evident that the Indian medicine, the knowledge of the powahs, and of crafts like basketry were transmitted by instruction from parent to child. This has continued until now, when little of this traditional knowledge remains.

[1]Edward Winslow Good News from New England, p. 99 London 1624 reprinted Boston 1832.

CHAPTER II : THE CONVERSION OF NEW ENGLAND

Go ye therefore and teach all nations,
baptizing them in the name of the Father,
and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;
Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you;
and lo, I am with you alway,
even unto the end of the World, Amen. Matthew 28: 19,20.

The Task

There are two threads and attitudes which can be traced in the relations of the Colonists and Aborigines from the first, the one with Roger Williams' expressed aim "to do the Natives good", and the other attempting to keep from them material progress by withholding firearms and horses and substituting firewater for more desirable forms of remuneration.

Very early in their contacts the English in New England had endeavored to bring the Red Men into the Christian fold. Robert Cushman, a leader of the Pilgrims, but one who never became resident here, delivered a sermon, "On the Sin and Danger of Self-love" at Plymouth on Dec. 12, 1621 (printed London 1622): "If ever God send us means we will bring up hundreds of their children both to labor and learning". Certainly Indians, including their King Massasoit, were present at the first Thanksgiving of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; and the Indians were often present at, and were generally respectful to, the observances of Christianity, altho they may hardly be said to have participated in them. One illuminating episode

was a meeting of Edward Winslow, the Pilgrim, with Corbitant, Sachem of Pocasset (near Fall River) in March 1623[1].

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us what was the meaning of that ordinary custom. Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation and preservation, of his laws and ordinances, especially of the ten commandments; all of which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of; only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman; about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof; and therefor craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies; and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God, for that our refreshing &c.

This all of them concluded to be very well; and said they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God they called Kiehtan.

The Patriarch White, writing to England in the "Planter's Plea"[2], cautioned: "It is easier to begin the work with a few and then to spread it to places better peopled". He grants that no progress had been made in converting the Indians of Virginia; and that in New Plymouth in ten years, not one of them had been converted. He accounts this to the difficulty presented by the Indian language, in which, he naively suggests, "the Whites easily acquire enough familiarity for purposes of trade and for temporal matters but not for making themselves understood about things spiritual".

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[1]Edward Winslow, Good News from New England, p. 325-326, London 1624, in Alexander Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrims, Little & Brown, Boston 1841.

[2]George Edward Ellis, The Indians of Eastern Massachusetts, p. 244-245, in Memorial History of Boston, edited by Justin Winsor, vol. 1, Osgood, Boston 1880.

Roger Williams, whose sympathies for the Indians has led to confusion with John Eliot, the Apostle, has left us several sidelights on the work of conversion. In a rare work, he observed[1]:

> For our New England parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easie for myself long ere this to have brought many thousands of the natives; yea the whole community, to a far greater anti-Christian conversion than was ever heard of in America. I could have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven - I adde, to have received Baptisme; to have come to a stated Church meeting; to have maintained Priests and Forms of Prayer, and a whole form of anti-Christian worship and life and death. Wo be to me; if I call that conversion to God which is indeed the subversion of the souls of millions of Christendom from one false worship to another.

Governor Craddock of the Massachusetts Bay Company wrote John Endicott in March 1629, "Be not unmindful of the main end of our Plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel"; and this mission was emphasized in the Charter. President Dunster, of Harvard, seems to have been thought eccentric in urging that the Indians be instructed thru their own language.

The Work of Eliot

The one man to whom credit has been rightly awarded for the conversion of the Indians was Reverend John Eliot, the minister of the First Church of Roxbury, Massachusetts (near Boston) a young man with phililogical training at the University of Cambridge, England. Securing the services of a young captive

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[1]Quoted from Baylies by George Edward Ellis, The Indians of Eastern Massachusetts, p. 259, in Memorial History of Boston, edited by Justin Winsor, vol. 1, Osgood, Boston 1880.

known from his proper abode as Cockenoe-de-Long-Island, John Eliot learned words from him and taught him to read and write in return. Cockenoe was taken in the Pequot War, and was the property of Mr. Richard Callicott of Dorchester. His life has been written by William Wallace Tooker. With this background John Eliot attempted to preach to the Indians at Neponset with no success; but on October 28, 1646[1], with three English companions he held a momentous service of worship, aimed at the conversion of the neighboring Massachusets, at the wigwam of Waaubon[2], at Noonanetum Hill (now in Newton). He spoke in Indian; expounding the ten commandments and the principal parts of religion for an hour and a quarter. With the help of his interpreter he spent three hours, following his discourse with a question and answer period. Much of the early missionary literature is taken up with the questions which on this and other occasions they presented to him for resolution; and those he asked them to test their conversion.

> Our first question was: Whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke there was no God because they cannot see Him?
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> Some of them replyed thus: that indeed they did desire to see him if it could be but they had heard from us that he could not be seen and they did believe that tho their eyes could not see him; yet he was to be seen with their soul within. Hereupon we sought to confirm them the more, and asked them if they saw a great Wigwam or a great house, would they think that Racoones or foxes built it that had no wisdom? or would they think that it made itself? or that no wise workman made it tho

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[1]John Eliot, Day-Breaking of the Gospel, p. 3, London 1647, in Collections, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 24, Cambridge 1834.

[2]The wind (interpretation).

they did not see him; so should they believe concerning God, when they looked up to Heaven, Sunne, Moone and the Stars and saw this great house he hath made, tho they did not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to believe with their soules that a wise God, a great God made it.

We knowing that a great block in their way to believing is that there should be but one God (by the profession of the English)[1] and yet this God in many places, therefor we asked them whether it did not seem strange that there should be but one God, and yet this God in Massachuset, at Coneetacut, at Quinnipeiock, in Old England, in this Wigwam, in the next, everywhere.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as everything else they heard preached was strange also, and they were wonderful things which they never heard of before, but yet they thought it might be true, and that God was so big everywhere: whereupon we further illustrated what wee said by wishing them to consider of the light of the Sun, which tho it be but a creature made by God yet the same light which is in this Wigwam was in the next also, and the same light which was here at Massachusets was at Quinipeiock also and in old England also and everywhere at one and the same time, the same much more was it so concerning God.

Whether they did not find somewhat troubling them within after the commission of sin, as murder, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they think would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appear before God (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have).

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; he therefor who spoke to them at first concluded with a doleful description (so far as his ability to speak in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sin and that shall be cast out of favor with God.[2]

At this the Indians professed not to be tired with the three hour discourse; but they concluded with prayer, and with gifts of apples to the children and tobacco to the men, and departed.

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[1] A further Discovery, p. 111 (c. 1646) "Myoxeo asking...how many Gods the English did worship, he answered one God, whereupon Myoxeo reckoned up about 37 principal gods he had..and shall I (said he) throw away these 37 gods for one?"... Yet Myoxeo became converted.

[2] John Eliot, The Day-Breaking of the Gospell, pp. 7-8, London 1647.

With the continuance of his labors, the Massachuset and other Indians in the vicinity of Boston soon came to receive the Gospel, altho three influences arose to oppose the work.

Most threatening were the powahs, who were the native priests or medicine men. At his third meeting at Noonanetum[1] their opposition came to be felt. The converts came to wonder[2]

If they leave off powwawing and pray to God, what shall they do when they are sick? for they have no skill in physick though some of them understand the vertues of sundry things yet the state of man's body and skill to apply them they have not; but all the refuge they have and relie upon in time of sickness is their powwaws who by antick, foolish and irrationall conceits delude the poor people; so that it is a very needfull thing to informe them in the use of Physick and a most effectuall means to take them off from their powwawing. Some of the wiser sort I have stirred up to get this skill; I have shewed them the anatomy of man's body and some general principles of Physick which is very acceptable to them, but they are so extremely ignorant, that these things must rather be taught by sight, sense and experience than by precepts and rules of art; and therefor I have had many thoughts in my heart, that it were a singular good work, if the Lord would stir up the hearts of some or other of his people in England to give some maintenance toward some schoole or collegiate exercise this way, wherein there should be Anatomies and other instructions that way, and bring in any vegetable or any other thing that is vertuous in the way of Physick; by this means we should soon have all these things that they know, and others of our Countrymen that are skillful that way, and now their skill lies buried for want of encouragement, would be a searching and trying to find out vertues of things in this countrey which doubtless are many and would not a little conduce to the benefit of the people of this country and it may be of our native countrey also; by this meanes wee should train up these poor Indians in that skill which would confound and root out these Powwaws and then would they be farre more easily inclined to leave those wayes, and pray unto God, whose gift Physick is, and whose blessing must make it effectuall.

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[1]November 26, 1646.

[2]John Eliot, Sept. 24, 1647 (letter) in Thomas Shepard, Clear Sunshine &c, pp. 56-57, London 1648, reprinted in Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 24, Cambridge 1834.

We have quoted Eliot at length because it illustrates one of his lines of endeavor, not well-known, which unfortunately never came to fruition. European medicine as well as American was far from perfect.[1] When Edward Winslow, in his visit to Massasoit, in what would except for Winslow have been his last sickness, characterized his powahs as making "such a hellish noise as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sicke"[2]...he left a lasting castigation of Indian medical skill that has not in all cases proved fair; much as if we should castigate the medicine of the Revolutionary period because Washington's physicians did not save him. Somewhere Benjamin Franklin said that old women did more good than physicians. Smith, the historian of Dover, writing of Natick, says that the New England Indians were wholly ignorant of the virtues of medicinal herbs; which from a careful reading of the subject one proves too negative a statement to be true. The Finnish bath, once widespread thruout Northern Europe, was the Narraganset "pesuponk". The granddaughter of Richard Bourne, the missionary pastor of Mashpee, was healed by a native doctor after having been given up to die.[3] There have been Indian doctors in New England within the memory of people now living.

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[1] Samuel Hahneman, Organon of The Art of Healing, note 83 to Par. 104 on p. 202, Fifth American Edition, Philadelphia 1875, with the note by a neighbor refers to it as an indictment of medical practice of the old school much later than this.
[2] Edward Winslow, op.cit., p. 327.
[3] Ambrose E. Pratt, 250th Anniversary, Sandwich and Bourne, pp. 57-58, Falmouth 1890.

The sachems also opposed the movement to conversion:

The sachems of the country are generally set against us, and counterwork the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can; and the reason of it is this: They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as whatever they had, and themselves too were at his command; his language was, as one said (omne meum) now they see that Religion teaches otherwise and puts a bridle upon such usurpations; besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desire anything from a man they would take occasion to rage and be in great anger; which when they did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him; for else their way was, to suborne some villain (of which they had no lack) to find some opportunity to kill him; this keeps them in great awe of their Sachems, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because they are but servants and they get it not for themselves; but now if their Sachems so rage and give sharp and cruel language, instead of seeking his favor with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sinne; tell him that it is not the right way to get money; but he must labour, and then he may have money, that it is God's command &c. And as for tribute, some say they are willing to pay but not as formerly.[1]

The Sachem of Nashobah (Concord) told his people:

The higher Indian Sachems....onely sought their owne ends out of you, and therefore would exact upon you and take away your skins and your Kettles & your Wampam from you at their own pleasure & this was al that they regarded.[2]

Cutshamoquin, the Sachem of Massachuset, even protested openly in meeting, "That all the Sachems in the Country were against it, &c."[3] At this John Eliot even preached on the text: "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's, and unto God what is God's" His aim was ever to avoid civil strife. His hearers were

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[1]John Eliot, The Light appearing, p. 139, publ. Henry Whitfield, London 1651, reprinted Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 24, Cambridge 1834.

[2]Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel, p. 38, London 1648, reprinted as above.

[3]John Eliot, The Light appearing, p. 140.

troubled and....

fell to reckon what they had done (for tribute) in two years past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I preached unto: I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corne, at another time more than sixe bushels; two hunting days they killed him fifteen deeres; they broke up for him two Acres of land, they made for him a great house or wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him with a ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of Ł 3-10s only some others were contributers in this money; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound at his return from building besides many dayes work in planting corne altogether, and some severally; yea they said they would willingly do more if he govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them; when I heard all this, I wondered, for this cometh to neere Ł 30; and was done by a few, and yet they thought it not much if he had carried matters better; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing; but the bottom of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he wanted; now he hath but what they will.

The larger Sachems, better known to us as Woosamequin, and Uncas of the Mohegans, opposed Christianity; and Potuck, of the Narragansets, even protested to England against the conversion of his people.

Some of the English also opposed the movement for selfish reasons but on the whole the General Court was very cooperative to the missionary cause. Probably the balance of power held by the Praying Indians in King Philip's War actually saved the colonies from annihilation. There was a saying, wrote Cotton Mather, that the Country could not perish as long as John Eliot was alive.

At his very first meeting with them, the Indians of Noonanetum wanted land to establish a town; and on Nov. 26, 1646, the General Court granted it: "it was told them it should be called Noonatomen which signified in English, <u>rejoycing</u>, be-

cause they hearing the word, and seeking to know God, the English did rejoice at it, and God did rejoice at it, which pleased them much; and therefore that is to be the name of their towne."[1] They established the following laws, two others being forgotten:[1]

1. That if any man be idle a week, at most a fortnight, he shall pay five shillings.
2. That if any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried he shall pay twenty shillings.
3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall be tied behind him, and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.
4. Every young man if not anothers servant and if unmarried, he shall be compelled to set up a wigwam and plant for himselfe and not live shifting up and down to other wigwams.
5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up but hang loose or be cut as men's haire she shall pay five shillings.
6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts they shall pay two shillings sixpence.
7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.
8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay five shillings.

The Indians of Nashobah (Littleton, near Concord) established a praying town the same year.

Noonantum proved too small, and Eliot seems to have intended to have concentrated all his local converts in one place. Resort was had to prayer, and in 1650 the site of Natick was chosen. Of the founding of the town we have perhaps as full an account as of any in the state. Its center was that of the present South Natick where the Eliot Church on the north side of the river Charles (in Massachuset, Quinobequin)

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[1]John Eliot, Day-Breaking of the Gospel, p. 20, London 1647, reprinted Collections Massachusetts Historical Society, Cambridge 1834, vol. 24.

marks the site of the fort[1] ...

which the Indians have made of whole trees very handsome and firme, which is neere a fair house which the Indians have built after the English manner high and large (no Englishman's hand in it save that one day or two they had an English carpenter with them to direct about the time of rearing) with chimneys in it; in which Mr. Eliot and those which accompany him use to lye...and as there is a large roome below, so there is a like chamber above in a corner whereof Mr. Eliot hath a little room inclosed, and a bed and bedstead therein, and in the same Chamber the Indians doe as in a wardrobe hang up their skins and things of price, as counting them to be very safe, as well when the doors be open, as when they be locked; they have laid out 3 fair long streets there, two on this side the River, and one on that, and have several house-lots apportioned severally to every one, which doe or be to inhabite there, and in many of them are fruit trees already planted, and they are building English houses for themselves meanwhile living in wigwams, whereof is good store neer the hillside.

They built a bridge eighty feet long, nine feet high in the midst, "with groundsells and spurres to it archwise" [2] with huge stone heaped on the bottom timbers to strengthen it. There were much encouraged when the ice swept out a similar bridge in the newly built English village of Medfield, but left theirs intact.

John Eliot much rejoiced when men went out from Natick to carry the gospel to places still further remote.[2]

There is a great Countrey lying between Conectacott and the Massachusets, called Nipnet, where there be many Indians dispersed, many of which have sent to our Indians, desiring that some may be sent unto them to teach them to pray unto God.

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[1]Letter of John Wilson, Pastor of Boston, Oct. 27, 1651, in Strength out of Weakness, or A Glorious Manifestation of the Further Progress of the Gospel, p. 176, published by Mr. Henry Whitfield, London 1652, reprinted in the 24th volume of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Cambridge 1834.

[2]Op. cit., pp. 170-171, in letter written by John Eliot 1651.

And sometimes some of our best men doe goe to severall places for a little while, and returne againe, and not without successe.

It will doubtless be repeated again and again, as it has been already, that John Eliot translated the Bible into the Nipmuck dialect. That is one thing which we are absolutely certain that he did not do. Wowaus the Indian printer was a Natick from Hassanamisco, but we have no Nipmuck literature whatever. Their territory roughly coincided with Worcester County, Massachusetts, extending south into the present state of Connecticut, and reaching into the states of Rhode Island and New Hampshire, its exact extent not being a matter of agreement. King Philip's War interrupted the work of Christianizing these Indians, most of whom supported King Philip in that war.

Natick was the center of Eliot's work, altho he traveled far and near. Not till 1660 was a church gathered at Natick, as the colonial churches were rather reluctant to encourage the novelty of the movement to that extent. John Eliot became its pastor, being succeeded eventually by Daniel Takawambpait, whose gravestone is still to be seen near the Museum at South Natick.

Ponkapog, near present Stoughton, was founded about 1655 by some Cohannet Indians upon the occasion of the death of Cutshamoquin and the accession of his nephew, Wampatuck (Wild Goose)[1]. This town, like Natick, still giving its name to a

[1]Also called Josias Chicatabut, Josias Wampatuck, or just Josias.

handful of survivors, was conditionally given six thousand acres by the town of Dorchester. During Eliot's lifetime it was under the church of Natick, but a church was erected in the next century. The confession of faith of Monequassun, made in 1652, is quite illuminating as to the mental processes of the Praying Indians, which we are too apt to pass over as unimpottant. He reiterates: "I loved Cohannet."

> My heart disliked (Natick). I heard the word, That it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, and that there was no such custom in the Churches; at first I thought I loved not long hair, but I did and found it hard to cut it off; and then I prayed to God to pardon that sin also; and then I desired to read God's word...and I feared how should I, my wife and child be clothed if I spent my time in learning to reade. Afterwards when I did teach among the Indians I was much humbled because I could not read right and that I sinned in it..first one of my children died, and after that my Wife; then I was in great sorrow...then I found this sin in my heart, that I was angry at the punishment of God...and therefore I cryed for the pardon of this sin.[1]

For all his confession of sin, there is little here that we would today call reprehensible. Truly the English name of this Monequassun should have been Job.

In 1664 by the act of Wampatuck a reservation, extending three miles from the Taunton River was established for the praying town of Kehtiticut in what are now Bridgewater, Middleboro and Raynham, Mass. (where the seed had been sown as early as 1647, or before). This town has been the locale of a great deal of recent archaeological activity.

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[1] Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 24, pp. 234-240, Cambridge 1834, being a reprint of Tears of Repentance related by Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew, and published by the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel there (New England), London 1653.

Other towns were established in the Massachuset, Nipmuck and Merrimack countries. A church was gathered at Hassanameset in 1671. This settlement is still in existence. When we consider what Eliot accomplished; that he had a busy parish of his own at Roxbury; that he was prominent in the education of his own parish; that he wrote one or more books upon other subjects, we find it hard to believe. As Mather said, the anagram of his name was Toile. We find him extolled for his charity; we find him laboring to prevent King Philip's war; find him protesting to the Commissioners of the United Colonies[1] against the inhuman practice of sending captured enemies out of New England as slaves; some of them upon his motion being brought back again.

At the time of his death the converts had been, it is said, reduced to four towns. On his deathbed, he mourned:

> There is a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among them. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead. It is a work that I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, my doings. Alas! they have been small and lean doings; and I will be the man who will throw the first stone at them all.[2]

He much emphasized industrial education. He wrote:[3]

> You know likewise that we exhorted them to fence their ground with

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[1] Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England vol. 2, p. 451 (August 1675) in the Records of Plymouth Colony, Ed. David Pulsifer, and Pub. by the Commonwealth, Boston 1859.
[2] John Small, Indian Primer, Introduction xxxv, Andrew Eliot,
[3] John Eliot writing from Roxbury, Sept. 24, 1647, in The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel, Thomas Shepard, London 1648, reprinted Cambridge 1834.

ditches, stone walls[1] upon the banks (at Noonantum) and promised to helpe them with Shovels, spades, mattocks, crows of iron; and they are very desirous to follow that counsel, and call upon me to help them with tooles faster than I can get them, though I have now pretty store, and they (I hope) are at work. The women are desirous to learn to spin, and I have procured Wheels for sundry of them, and they can spin pretty well. They begin to grow industrious, and find something to sell at market all the yeer long; all winter they sell Brooms, Staves, Elepots, Baskets, Turkies. In the Spring, Craneberries, Fish, Strawberries; in the Summer Hurtleberries, Grapes, Fish; in the Autumn they sell Craneberries, Fish, Venison &c and can find good benefit by the Market, and grow more and more to make use thereof; besides sundry of them work with the English in Haytime and Harvest, but yet it's not comparable to what they might do, if they were industrious, and old boughs must be bent a little at once; if we can get the young twigs in a better bent, it will bee God's mercy.

His labors were laborious and arduous. After a trip to Quobagud (Brookfield), whither he went by way of Nashaway (Lancaster):

I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so traveled and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings and on with them again, and so continued; the rivers also were raised so as that we were wet in riding through but that which added to my affliction was, my horse tyred, so that I was forced to let my horse go empty and ride on one of the men's horses which I took along with me.[2]

Martha's Vineyard

We must not forget that a number of others were also engaged in the work. Thomas Mayhew wrote[3] from Great Harbor on Martha's Vineyard that his work on the Island began in the year 1643. After a short period of difficulty the Island became

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[1]At several points the Indians of New England were noted for stonework, stone walls, etc. One Narraganset was known as Stone-Layer John.

[2]A letter of John Eliot, 1649, p. 125 in A Farther Discovery, etc., published by Henry Whitfield, London 1651, reprint 1834.

[3]Letter of Thomas Mayhew, Sept. 7, 1650, op. cit., Samuel Maverick's Description of New England (1660), p. 21, Boston 1885, says: - cont. on next page -

rather thoroughly Christianized. Hiacoomes, not yet forgotten on the Island, was the first convert. He became pastor of a native church in 1670. In his defying of the powahs he makes one think of St. Patrick defying the Druids. The help of Peter Folger, the grandfather of Benjamin Franklin, carried the work to Nantucket.

Other Fields

In the Old Colony there were several workers: Reverend John Cotton of Plymouth who revised the second edition of the Indian Bible; Reverend William Leveridge of Sandwich who was replaced by Captain Thomas Tupper who began his work about 1654 in present Herring Pond; Richard Bourne who was ordained first pastor of the Indian church at Mashpee in 1670, and Rev. Samuel Treat who preached to over five hundred Indians including the well-known Nausets at their home in Potanumaquut.

In Connecticut Rev. James Fitch of Norwich gathered a small body of converted Mohegans and accommodated them with land. The work in Connecticut, however, took very little root at this time; and in Rhode Island was hardly existent.

3-Cont. from previous page ..."In this Island by God's blissing on the Labour, care and paines of the two Mayhews, father and son, the Indians are more civilized then anywhere else which is a step to Christianity, and many of them have attained to a great measure of knowledge...although (as I understand) they have had a small share of those vast sumes given for this (missionary) use and purpose of ye Revenues of it. It were good to enquire how it hath been disposed of. I know in some measure or at least suspect the business hath not been rightly caryed."

CHAPTER III : THE RESULTANT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

Upon his second coming to the Indians at Noonanetum, John Eliot catechized the children as well as the adults. On his third coming (November 26, 1646) he was moved to remark:

"1. That it is prettie heavy and chargeable to educate and traine up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, cloathing, diet, and attendance, which they must have.

2. That in all probabilitie many Indians in other places...will bee provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes fare so well among the English (italics my own)...it will bee more heavy to such as onely are fit to keepe them, and yet have their hands and knees infeebled so many wayes besides.

3. That is any shall doe any thing to incourage this worke, that it may be given to the Colledge for such an end and use, that so from the Colledge may arise the yeerly revenue for their yeerly maintenance."[1]

On his next coming, "The Indians offered all their children to us to bee educated amongst us, and instructed by us; complaining to us that they were not able to give anything to the English for their education: for this reason there are therefore preparations made towards the schooling of them, and

[1] Thomas Sheperd, Day-Breaking, etc. pp. 21-22 London 1647 reprint Boston 1834

setting up a Schoole among them or very neare unto them."[1]

On the 13th of the 9th month, 1649, John Eliot wrote from Roxbury, "For their Schooling, a Gentleman in London (whose name I could never learn) did give ten pounds towards it the last yeare, which I thus disposed of: five pounds I gave to a grave woman in Cambridge, who taught the Indian children last yeare; and God so blessed her labors, that they came on very prettilly. The other five pounds I gave to the School-master of Dorchester, and thither the Children of those Indians that lived thereabout went with a like good success, if not better, because the children were bigger and more capable. This ten pound bill Captain Harding paid here, and was to take it at London: but I heare nothing from him, nor do I know whether the Gentleman will continue his gift: I feare for want of meanes both these Schooles will fall; and the Children like to lose all that they have gotten the first yeare, which is a work had need be closely followed: because they are to learn our language as well as to read; onely I take my constant course of catechizing them every Lecture day, and I thank the Lord they are (many of them) very ready in their answers in the principles of Religion. And in that exercise I endeavor to use them to good manner."[2]

He also wrote on the 8th of the 5th, 1649, "If the Lord

[1] Thomas Sheperd op. cit. p. 22
[2] John Eliot, Glorious Progress etc. p. 88 (original p. 16) 1649 reprinted Boston 1834

bring us to live in a Town and Society, we must have special care to have Schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at least. And therefore there must be some Annual revenew for the maintaining of such Schoolmasters and dames; Besides I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leisure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other halp continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care and reverence; and all this is chargeable; therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it....

Moreover there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly sequestered to learning and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds per Annum to be paid in England, will maintaine one Indian youth at Schoole and half a score such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that parti-

cular."[1]

On the 28th of the 2d, 1651, his plans had been somewhat changed:

And whereas I had thought that we must have an Englishman to be their schoole-master, I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and enable them unto that work, with my care to teach them well in the reason of the sounds of letters and spelling, I trust in the Lord that we shall have sundry of them able to read and write, who shall write every man for himselfe so much of the Bible as the Lord shall please to enable me to translate....[2]

The following arrived in England six months later[3]

I know not whether I have yet mentioned our Schools, which through the Lord's mercy we have begun, though we cannot yet be constant in it, we have two men in some measure able to teach the youth with my guidance, and inspection. And thus we order the Schoole: the Master daily prayeth among his Schollers and instructeth in Catechisme, for which purpose I have compiled a short catechisme, and wrote it in the Masters book which he can read, and teach them; and also all the Coppies he setteth his Schollers when he teacheth them to write, are the Questions and Answers of the Catechisme, that so the children may be the more prompt and ready therein. We aspire to no higher learning yet, but to spell, read and write, that so they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already or hereafter may (by the blessing of God) translate for I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much lesse printed in my dayes.

To the end therefore that they may be the better able to teach others, I doe traine them up, and exercise them therein: when I am among them on the Lord's days, appointing two each Sabboth to exercise, and when they have done, then I proceed, and assuredly I finde a good measure of ability in them, not only in prayer (wherein they exceed my expectation) but in memory to rehearse such scriptures as I have read unto them and Expounded; to Expound them also as they have heard me doe, and apply them. And now also the Schoole-master taketh care of catechising the Children, I leaving that to him, doe Catechize the men, examining and trying their knowledge, which yet I am

[1] John Eliot, Further Discovery, pp. 121-122 1651 reprinted Boston 1834
[2] John Eliot, Manifestation of Further Progress p. 168 1652 reprinted Boston 1834
[3] John Eliot op, cit., 169

wary in doing, least I should dampe and discourage the weake.[1]

John Wilson in his letter from Boston, October 27, 1651[2], writes:

> The Indian Schoole-Master was there teaching the children, who doth read and spell very well himselfe, and teacheth them to do the like (besides writing)...after his latter prayer the Indian School-Master read out of his Book one of the Psalmes in meeter, line by line, translated by Mr. Eliot into Indian, all the men and women &c singing the same together in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously.

John Endicott wrote[3] of seeing "him write also in English who doth it true and very legible."

Thomas Mayhew[4] wrote on October 22, 1652 from Martha's Vineyard: "About thirty Indian Children are now at School, which began the eleventh day of the eleventh month, 1651. They are apt to learn, and more and more are sending in unto them."

As we have seen the Natick schoolmaster was Monequassun, who probably did not live long at Natick, but must have settled at Ponkapog, as did so many of his neighbors. We learn incidentally that Anthony who had been very seriously injured, sawing boards, "is now sawing upon the Schoolhouse."[5]

The work spread, and in a slow way prospered. We learn that in 1659-1660 there were about twenty teachers under salary of the Corporation. The Commissioners in reply wrote (1660,

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[1]John Eliot, op. cit., p. 170
[2]John Eliot, op. cit., p. 177
[3]John Eliot, op. cit., p. 190
[4]Thomas Mayhew (letter) in Confessions of Indians, p. 208, vol. 22, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society Cambridge, 1834.
[5]John Eliot, Confessions of Indians, p. 255-256, London 1653

Records, vol. 2 p. 242) "about one hundred of Mr. Elliotts Indians can read in the Bible; and many other about Plymouth, Martha's Vineyard and other places."

In September, 1662,[1] Captain Young was allowed five pounds "for his expense of time and charge by advice from the Commissioners in procuring sundry youths to be bound with the English for their learning to Read and write and their further civilising...and for what hee shall expend in that kind for the future hee is to receiue Recompence from those with whom the said Indians shall live."

Also they ordered: "That the sen r of those Indian Scollars att Mr. Welds bee remoued to the gramer Schoole att Cambridge att the expiration of this yeare and hee is allowed to take another youth now sent from Martin's Vinyard that came to him about the 9th of this instant and another Pequot youth if hee may be procured and such allowance to be made to Mr. Weld for the clothing..as the Commissioners of the Massachusetts shall thinke meet."

In 1664 Daniel Weld wrote the Commissioners:[2]

I have only three Indian scholars, and their yeares came out vpon the 25th of July last...and I could wish, if it might stand with your Worshipps likeinge that there might be one Indian more added to those I haue because they are much subject to consumptions whereof 4 have died within these few years."

The first real primer of which a copy has been preserved was printed at Cambridge in 1669. Only one copy is known, in the library of the University of Edinburgh, from which a reprinted edition was made in 1877 and again in 1880.

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[1]Acts of Commissioners, vol. 2, p. 280

[2]Op. cit., pp. 382-383

The Indian Primer

or

The way of training up of our

Indian youth in the good

knowledge of the Scriptures

and in an ability to Reade

Composed by J. E.

2 Timothy 3: 14-15 (in Massachuset)

Cambridge Printed 1669

It opens with the Biblical maxim, Prov. 22:6

Nehtuhpeh peises ut mayut ne woh ayont: kah kehchisuit matta pish wunnukkodtumooun

Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it.

This is followed by the letters; a list of unnontoowaash or vowels and of neesontoowaash or dipthongs including both ꝏ and oo. This is followed by a syllabary; and a reading lesson, which tells, without doubt, the course of instruction in the Indian schools.

Wa-as-tam-we	us-seonk	ogke-tam-un-at	Ca-te-chi-sa-onk
Wise	to first	read	Catechism

ne-gon-ne	og-kee-tash	Pri-mer
First	read	Primer

Na-hoh-to-eu	og-kee-tash	Ai-us-koi-an-tam-o-e	weh-kom-a-onk.
Next	read	Repentance i.e. Baxter's Call	Calling

Ne-it og-kee-tash Bible

Then read Bible.

Noh School-mas-ter-eu-uk a-se-ke-suk-ok-ish woh nee-sit nompe pe-an-tam . . . .

The Schoolmasters day-by-day may twice pray . . . . . .

This is followed by the Lord's Prayer in English and in Massachuset which was then expounded, followed by the Ancient Creed likewise. These were followed by "Degrees of Christian Duties for several estates", the large and a short catechism; and at the end there is a table of the Roman and Arabic numerals and English cardinal numbers, and a table of the books of the Bible in English. The whole comprises a book of 128 pages unnumbered, two blank, and two with the royal arms of King Charles II with the French mottoes:

Hon i soit qui mal y pense and Dieu et mon droit.

Later Primers.

A number of later primers were issued as needed, even as late as 1747. Later editions often include Reverend John Cotton's Milk for Babes, a catechism, translated by Grindall Rawson and published at Cambridge 1691. That of 1720 gave progressive spelling lessons beginning with simple words and extending to "kuttoowongash nabo nishwe Syllablesooooash asuh chadchaubenumooongash (words of thirteen syllables or parts) as num-meh-quon-tam-wut-te-a-ha-on-ga-nun-no-nash - our remembrances or recollections." The longest word (the only one

that reaches fifteen syllables) is nuk-kit-te-a-mon-te-a-nit-te-a-on-ga-nun-no-nash which means our mercies, but to the Indians it meant a good deal more than this, having an exactness of denotation to which English does not attain (1(it distinguishes the mercies we receive from the mercies we show or dispense to others, (2) it means our peculiar mercies not shared by those to whom we speak - ours only, not those which you and we enjoy in common, and (3) it designates these mercies as voluntarily bestowed - the manifestations of a merciful disposition. One might find it difficult to put all this in English in less than fifteen syllables."

Writing to the Corporation on September 20, 1670[1], Eliot said:

> And seeing they must have teachers amongst themselves, they must also be taught to be teachers; for which cause I have begun to teach them the art of teaching, and I find some of them very capable. And while I live, my purpose is (by the grace of Christ assisting) to make it one of my chief cares and labors to teach them some of the liberal arts and sciences, and the way how to analyze, and lay out into particulars both the works and the Word of God; and how to communicate knowledge to others methodically and skillfully and especially the method of Divinity.

On September 30, he wrote Hon. Robert Boyle, "I have undertaken and begun a kind of academical reading unto them in their own language thereby to teach the rulers and all that are desirous of learning." (Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 431) To this end Eliot prepared the Logick Primer, of which the

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[1]John Eliot, Brief Narrative 1670 p. 5, London 1671 reprinted in Harvard Classics vol. 43 p. 147 seq.

Commissioners of the United Colonies meeting at Plymouth in September 1672 directed six pounds to be paid for printing, stitching and cutting one thousand.[1] This rare tract, of which only one perfect copy is known, was long thought to have been printed in English. One hundred fifty copies were issued in a reprint edition at Cleveland (Ohio) in 1904 with an introduction by Wilberforce Eames. Some description is in order of the only book aiming at higher education for the Massachuset. The original measured about three and three-eighths inches in height; two and a quarter in width, containing forty leaves not paged, with the running title: The Logick Primer. The title page is:

The Logick Primer

Some Logical Notions to initiate
the Indians in the know-
ledge of the Rule of Reason:
and to know how to make
use thereof
Especially for the Instruction of
such as are Teachers
among them,
Composed by J. E. for the
use of the Praying Indians
The use of this Iron Key is to

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[1] Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, vol. 2 p. 356

Open the rich Treasury of

the holy Scriptures

Prov. 1:4 To give subtilty to the

simple; to the young man know-

ledge and discretion

Printed by M(armaduke) J(ohnson) 1672

We extract a few words from the instructive preface:

These few short Logicall Notions are onely for a thrid (thread)...as the Eunuch said to Philip, Acts 8:31 - How can I understand them, unless some man shall guide me? Lord Jesus, help me to help them that they may come to the knowledge of thy truth..To form words of art, is a work that requireth time and judgement. I have adventured to break the ice; Lord raise more able Workmen to follow, and to mend both the Foundation and the building.

The greater part of the book has an English interlinear translation. It explains the use of moapissue kutt͡wongash, (binding words), pakodtittumoongash (propositions) and (causes) ohteauahteunkish, and oggusanuk͡waonk (the syllogism). At the end are several scriptural passages entirely in Massachuset with sample elucidations for the benefit of the student.

It will be instructive to review the system of Education as established before the breaking out of King Phillip's War, with the help of the map.

Review of Education before King Philip's War It will be instructive to review with the help of the chart the system of education as it existed up to the time of King Philip's War.

Pocumptuck Tribe The Pocumptuck tribe at the time of King Philip's War had not been converted; hardly even approached by missionaries. After the war, most of them migrated north, eventually to Canada.

Nipmuck Tribe There were probably several teachers among the Nipmucks. Some of the ten Indian teachers who were paid five pounds apiece in 1672, working under John Eliot were without doubt Nipmucks. Tuppuckoowillin who was paid ten pounds in 1660 was a teacher at Hassunet. This town is still in existence.

Nantucket From a letter of John Eliot's (pp. 384-6 25th of the 6th 1664) we learn that already Samuel, of Martyns Vinyard had been called by the Nantucket Indians to teach them; a fact otherwise also of importance Miss Mayhews p. 197 "There are referred to, three Indian teachers - Joseph Samuel and Caleb" the latter master of the Indian school. The school was conducted in the Indian tongue, but Caleb confided to Gookin an earnest desire to read and understand English and entreated that dignitary to procure him an English Bible which was accordingly done by order of the commissioners. Like numerous others of Mayhew's best converts, Caleb was the son of an Indian priest." Says Gookin "The Indians upon the island sow English as well as Indian corn, spin and knit stockings and

are more industrious than many other Indians."

Martha's Vineyard On Martha's Vineyard the work was directed by Rev. Thomas Mayhews who was in 1657-8 assisted by an English schoolmaster, Peter Folgum (Folger) who received a salary of twenty pounds. The same year there were two Indian interpreters and schoolmasters; in 1658-9 four, and 1659-60 eight, and 1666-7 nine. Mayhew says "The schoolmaster who hath some languadge and my son Doggett that hath, I think, much more than any English man uppon the Island, and is a considerable young man." The eight schoolmasters as their names appear most clearly were Hiacoomes(-Sakomas?), Mamnakesen, Tacanash, Kesquich, Samuell, Manaso, James and Annawanitt.

Cape Cod On Cape Cod we find three zones of missionary activity, that of Capt. Thomas Tupper in what is now the Herring Pond Reservation, replacing William Leverich of Sandwich who was engaged in the work of conversion in 1651 but removed to Long Island; that of Richard Bourne in what is now Mashpee; and (later) Rev. Samuel Treat at Eastham. Richard Bourne seems to have been the chief worker in Plymouth jurisdiction. For "his paines in teaching the Indians there" he was paid in 1657-8 15 L. and the next year twenty pounds, two years hence twenty five. In the same year two Indian schoolmasters appear, Charles and William; and in 1671-2 another.

Wampanoag Tribe In the same year Reverend John Eliot wrote (loc. cit. pp. 383-4) "Phillip and his people of Sowamset, who did this winter past, upon solicitations and means used, send

to me for books to learn to read, in order to praying unto God, wch I did send unto him, and p^r^sents wth all; and my sonne hath bene twicw wth them, and taught among them..And if you please to ord^r^ the w^r^pful commissioners of Plimmouth to give incouragm^t^ to John Sosoman who teacheth Phillip and his men to read, I think it will be an action of good prudence.... When you were pleased the last yeare, for weighty reasons, to put an end to salarys for Schoolemasters, and required the parents to be at that charge..the work grew more difficulty, and required the more attention, and would necessarily call for incouragm^t^ fro^-^ yourselves. And thefore my humble request is, that you would allow them not lesse than 5 li a man..."

Case of Netus It will appear that most of the education of the Indians was conducted as philanthropy of the Whites. It is interesting to note that they educated one Indian lad at Indian expense, and drove, for all we can see, quite a stiff bargain.

Netus, an original resident of the Grafton area, became an attendant on the ministry of Reverend Mr. Browne of Sudbury by which he became converted. It is supposed that he established a position of confidence for he was trusted when he could not pay cash down. In 1659 the Court records mention a suit entertained against him by Sergeant John Parmenter of Sudbury.

When the Society for propagating the Gospel in New Eng-

land made arrangements with schoolmaster Corlett of Cambridge to educate Indian youths in preparation for college, a son of Netus was sent to him to instruct. It appears that they were charges, the nature of which we have been unable to find, which the Society failed to pay., and Mr. Corlett obtained leave of the Court to "purchase so much land as the said Netus is possessed of according to law for the satisfaction of the debt." The original amount due was £ 4.10 but the interest and charges raised it to £ 7.10. Under the court order, Edmund Rise Sr. and Thomas Noyes laid out to said Corlett from the lands of said Netus, a farm of 320 acres. This farm lay "about three miles off the Indian plantation, Hassanamiscox at Nipnap Hill" in the northeastern corner of Grafton. In 1699 the land was sold for a negro wench at £ 25.10 and £ 10 in money. In King Philip's War, it is evident that Netus joined the enemy and was killed during the war. It should be added that the wives of Netus and of Aquitakash, accused of complicity of the Eames family (evidently it was the husbands who had been accused) were sold into slavery. The desire for an education, and the blessings of conversion on the basis of the above facts, do not seem very convincing in the experience of this family.[1]

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[1] J. H. Temple History of Framingham, pp. 78-9 Town of Framingham no place 1887

CHAPTER IV : THE INDIAN LIBRARY

Literature in Massachuset

That John Eliot translated the whole Bible into the Indian language is quite well known; but that his translation of the Bible is but the most conspicuous of a literature of forty titles, mostly in the Massachuset language, is not generally realized. Most of the items were composed by colonial missionaries; and most of the literature is religious both as to content and purpose. A very small part only was composed either by Natives or by White men who had learned the language like their Mother tongue.

The Indian Bible was neither the first publication; nor the first book produced by the Press at Cambridge (It was the first Bible); those honors going to the Freeman's Oath (1638-39), and to the first Bay Psalm-book. The first printed book in Indiane was a catechism in Massachuset (1654) of which no copy is now known to exist; which was followed by the book of Genesis, the book of Matthew and a few psalms in metre. Until lately these were likewise unknown; but in 1937[1], Wilberforce Eames traced a copy of Genesis which had belonged to William Marsden, the historian of Sumatra. In this volume an interlinear printing is made of the English version, which for want of space, was not carried thru the book.

The New Testament was a much more ambitious work. Marma-

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[1]George Parker Winship, The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692, pp.167-172, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 1945.

duke Johnson, a good printer, whose love affairs help enliven the history of the early Cambridge Press, was hired from England at a salary of forty pounds a year; and a new font of type secured to further the work. In a letter of the Commissioners concerning the progress of the missionary work, we are told, "Two of the Indian youths formerly brought up to read and write are put apprentice, the one to a carpenter, the other to Mr. Green the printer, who take their trades and follow their business very well".[1] There is little doubt but that the latter was James-the-Printer, whose real name was Wowaus, and whose home was Hassanamisco, now Grafton, the only man according to Eliot, "able to compose the sheets and correct the press with understanding".

The whole Bible which followed was a momentous work for New England. It required the use of both presses. The most that could be accomplished was one sheet a week. The words were much longer than in English, and the printing requirements very different; especially in the use of the special logotype ; large numbers of "k" and "q", non-use of "c" and almost complete absence of "l" and "r".

Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, has left it on record that a part of the translation was the work of John Sassamon, a young praying Indian from Ponkapog, whose murder was the occasion of King Philip's War. Must historians do not give this

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[1]George Pulsifer, Ed. Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, vol. 2, in Records of Plymouth Colony p. 244 (Sept. 1660) Massachusetts Legislature, Boston 1859.

character a very high estimation; but it is probable that there would have been a war if he had never lived. It is probable that the parts of the Bible which he translated can still be distinguished. The whole work, says Mather, was written with one pen. Even today, the whole Bible is extant in few American languages.

The first Edition of Eliot's Bible was published in pot size, in quarto, with marginal notes. There were 1500 copies of the New Testament, 1000 of the whole Bible, of which a few were sent to England as presents, and the whole dedicated to King Charles II. In no edition is it an excessively rare book, there being over thirty copies known, some of which have interesting information transmitted upon their pages by later owners and some of which are incomplete. Much of interest might be written upon the subject of Eliot's work. The preeminent sutdent of the language and its literature was James Hammond Trumbull of Connecticut, whose Natick Dictionary, published in 1903, altho not exhaustive, is our last word upon the subject. Trumbull's one fault was his failure to derive any evident assistance from the tribal remnants of New England, which thru his lifetime at least retained some knowledge of their own tongue. The labors of Dr. John Dynely Prince, the Semitic scholar, and his pupil, Dr. Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, as well as a Mohegan scholar, Miss Gladys Tantaquidgeon, who was a student of Dr. Speck have demonstrated this. The present writer has heard Mrs. Sturgiss, of

Mashpee, tell of hearing her grandmother read from the Indian psalter, so that until lately its use as a written language was within living memory. From Trumbull we must obtain much of our knowledge and estimation of the literature [1].

On the whole his version was probably as good as any first version that has been made, from his time to ours, in a previously unwritten and so-called "barbarous" language. It is certainly much better than some modern samples of missionary translation. The most curious mistake I have detected is in the word used for virgin . . Eliot's Natick interpreter did not understand that the noun wanted was feminine. . in the Indian Bible, the parable in Matthew xxv : 1-12, is of "ten chaste young men"... and so on in every place in which "virgin" occurs in the English version, tho in most cases the context clearly establishes the gender. Another little mistake occurs at 2 Kings ii 23, where the bad boys say to the prophet, "Go up, thou bald head!" In the Indian the last word is literally "ball-head", Pompasuhkonkanontup. Either the interpreter mistook the word as pronounced by Eliot, or he thought it well to aggravate the insult by likening Elisha's smooth head to a football; for pompasuhkonk denotes "a ball to play with". Probably the names of animals and plants, not-too-identified in the King James version were one defect of the version. No account of Eliot's Bible is complete without the eel-pot story, and as it is still being repeated incorrectly, it follows: When Eliot - so the story goes - was translating Judges V 28 - "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried thru the lattice &c" - he had some difficulty in finding the proper Indian word for "lattice". At last after much questioning and describing, a long, barbarous, and unpronounceable word was given him, and took its place in the verse. Years afterward he discovered that he had used for "lattice" the Indian name for an eel-pot. The story is a good one, and the only fault to be found with it is, that in the verse referred to, Eliot merely transfered the English word "lattice" without attempting to translate it:

"Ohkasoh Sisera sohhooquaeu ut kenogkeneganit,

kah mishontooau papashpe lattice-ut." Judges V 28"

King Philip's War had several unexpected effects upon the

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[1] James Hammond Trumbull, The Indian Tongue and its Literature, pp. 472-3, in The Memorial History of Boston, Ed. Justin Winsor, Boston 1880, vol. 1

Indian work. What concerns us here is that in the forced concentration of the Praying (Christian) Indians on the islands of Boston and Plymouth harbors many of their Bibles and other books were lost or spoiled. This, with an increment of converts from the subjugated Wampanoag, produced such a dearth of material that, upon the importunation of Eliot to his English correspondents, the Whole Bible was printed again in an edition of 2000 copies, dedicated to Sir Robert Boyle (the discoverer of Boyle's Law, and patron of Eliot's work) and completed in 1686. The second edition was carefully revised by John Cotton[1] pastor of Plymouth (altho he learned Indiane on Martha's Vineyard) whom Eliot considered his superior in the language. A third edition was projected in 1710 but never attempted, so for over a century the Indians had to make their old copies do.

Eliot's work was far from done when he had completed the Bible. He wrote Richard Baxter who seems to have saved the charter of the English missionary society, threatened at the Restoration[2]:

> My work about the Indian Bible being (by the good hand of the Lord, tho not without difficulties) finished.. I have therefor propounded in my heart..to translate for them a little book of yours, intituled, "A Call to the Unconverted", the keenness of the edge, and liveliness of the Spirit of that Book...may be of great use unto them..I would not presume to do such a thing, without making mention to yourself, that so I might have the help and blessing of your Counsel and Prayers. I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the Call of Christ by your Holy Labours shall be made to speak in their Ears, in their own Language...
>
> I have begun the Work already, and find a great difference in the Work already from my former translations; I

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[1]George Parker Winship, op. cit. pp. 324-327.
[2]Op. cit. p. 243.

am forced sometime to alter the Phrase for the facilitating and fitting it to Our language in which I am not so strict as I was in the Scriptures. Some things which were fitting for English people are not fit for them, and in such cases, I make bold to fit it for them, but I do little that way, knowing how much beneath Wisdom it is, to shew a Man's self witty, in mending another Man's work.

This was a small tract of sixty-two pages, besides the title leaf, in an edition of 1000 copies (1664) which, like the Bible was reprinted in 1688.

Bishop Lewis Baily's Practice of Piety had become a Puritan classic. It was entered on the Stationer's Register in January 1611-1612. For nearly two centuries it maintained its reputation. Having been the domestic chaplain of James I, and having dedicated several editions to Charles I when Prince of Wales, he was in the regard of the Stuarts; and his book had been translated into French, German and Welsh before the death of the author in 1632. An attempt had been made to divert Eliot to this book before he undertook Baxter's Call, and as it was, he had begun to translate two of the works of Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge (Mass.) who was himself interested in the Indian work; but he laid them by, and issued The Practice of Piety, much abridged under the title of Manitowompae Pomantamoonk &c, without a printer's name in 1665 (reprinted 1685).

The next translation, as we have seen, nearly complete twenty-five years before - The Sincere Convert, of Rev. Thomas Shepard - in Indian - Sampwutteahae Quinnuppekompauenin - was finally published in 1689, "in a few places amended by Rev. Grindall Rawson" of Mendon, when Eliot was eighty-five years old. In 1691, the year after Eliot's death, appeared his translation of John Cotton's Catechism, "Spiritual Milk for Babes, drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments, for the Nourishment of Their Souls", a tract of thirteen pages, printed by Samuel and Bartholomew Green, the last Indian book with the Cambridge inprint.

In 1698, Rev. Samuel Danforth (the fourth minister of Taunton, the author of a dictionary of the Indian language, much of which is preserved among the manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society) published a translation of five sermons of Rev. Increase Mather, "Bosonut Printeuoop nashpe Bartholomew Green kah John Allen" (at Boston, printed by Bartholomew Green and John Allen). The same printers published in 1699 Grindall Rawson's translation of the Confession of Faith adopted by the Synod in Boston in 1680 (Wunnamptamoe Sampooaonk &c), and in 1700 Cotton Mather's "An Epistle to the Christian Indians" (Wussukwhonk en Christianeue asuh peantamwe Indianog) in English and Indian, both books bearing on their title pages the word Mushauwomuk (The boat landing place), the

Indian name of Boston.

Cotton Mather whose ponderous "Magnalia Christi Americana" was the Summa Theologia of New England colonial life, made several other ventures in print in Massachuset, but of little account. He was not unwilling to venture into a language whereof the words were of "sesquipedalian and unaccountable dimensions". Questioning a bewitched girl, he discovered that the devils who tormented her, "understood his Latin, Greek and Hebrew but the Indian language they did not seem well to understand". The devils who found Mather's Indian too hard for them were not without excuse. Judging from the specimens printed, he had not mastered the rudiments of the grammar and could not construct an Indian sentence idiomatically. It is not certain how much of these translations were his own work.

If we except the primers, scarcely any of the Indian library was secular in any sense. In Boston, in 1705, appeared a lone venture in the field of law, the anonymous "The Hatchets to Hew down the Tree of Sin, which Bears the fruit of Death", in sixteen pages, English and Indian. There were at least two broadsides, neither of which have been preserved, one in 1672, "to prevent Indians to steal Englishmen's swines", and the other addressed to the Praying Indians at the time of King Philip's War, printed without the aid of Wowaus (James-the-Printer).

Literature in Quiripey

The Rev. Abraham Pierson of Branford, near New Haven, with the help of Thomas Stanton (the official interpreter for the

United Colonies), published in 1658 a catechism for the benefit of the Indians of Southwestern New England. Its title was: "Some Helps for the Indians, Shewing them How to improve their natural Reason, To know the True God and the True Christian Religion

1. By leading them to see the Divine Authority of the Scriptures

2. By the Scriptures the Divine Truths necessary to Eternal Salvation: Undertaken at the Motion and published by the Order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies by Abraham Pierson, Examined and approved by Thomas Stanton, Interpreter-General to the United Colonies for the Indian Language and by some others of the most able Interpreters amogst (sic) us. Cambridge Printed by Samuel Green 1658".

This tract of sixty-eight pages with an interlinear translation in English seems to have constituted the only printed matter in a dialect spoken in Connecticut into the present century. The first sheet was reprinted in London as an example of missionary translation. The whole has been reprinted in the third volume of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. The vocabulary of the book does not indicate as great a mastery of the language as Eliot possessed. Trumbull aptly remarks,[1] "Mr. Pierson's "Some Helps" must be reckoned among the rarest of American books...a curiosity in more respects than one. An English translation of the catechism is inter-

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[1]James H. Trumbull, op. cit. p. 467.

lined thruout and is not undeserving the study of missionary teachers, home and foreign as an example of how not to do it. The author begins with a demonstration of the existence and unity of God, which to the average Indian mind must have been as intelligible and satisfactory as the enunciation of a proposition in quaternions or Hegel's definition of the idea. To the third question, 'How do you prove that there is but one true God?', the Indian disciple is instructed to reply inter alia: 'Because singular things of the same kind when they are multiplied are differenced among themselves by their singular properties; but there cannot be found another God differenced from this, by any suchlike properties', and so on."

Perhaps this is one of the chief reasons why Christianity was so slow in its progress among this people whose territory was very roughly conterminous with that of New Haven Colony.

Literature in Nopnoik

In the dialect of Nope (Martha's Vineyard) the elder Thomas Mayhew composed a catechism which seems to have disappeared. The most notable item in print however was the Massachusee Psalter, printed in Boston in 1709 by B. Green and J. Printer. This was in English and Indian on opposite pages with two title pages, comprising the Book of Psalms and the gospel of St. John as translated by Rev. Experience Mayhew. "The Indian Language has been from his Infancy natural to him, and he has been all along accounted one of the greatest Masters of it that has been

known among us."[1] so that this was the first book actually known to be by an actual speaker of the tongue. Experience Mayhew is supposed to have been the author of two other works in the Vineyard dialect; from his sermon, "Ne Kesukod Jehovah" (This is the day, which the Lord hath made), my correspondent, Rev. Warren F. Gookin, descendant of the magistrate of the Indians, is learning the language; and the Indiane Primer of 1747, the last of the Indian Library, is supposed to be his work from the peculiarities of its dialect.

Printed Works in Other Dialects

In other dialects of the New England Indians there is little preserved, especially in print. In the Pequot, of Southeastern Connecticut, there were made two very different translations of the Lord's Prayer, one of which was printed in 1721.

In the Narraganset of Rhode Island, the dearth of literary composition is hard to understand. The Commissioners of the United Colonies had undertaken to have the catechism translated for the benefit of the Narragansets or Pequots but so far as we know, none was ever produced, even in manuscript. The nearest in Narraganset is a brief paraphrase of the Biblical account of the Creation, contained in Roger Williams, "A Key Into the Language of America", published in London (1643), of

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[1]Thomas Prince, Some Accounts of those English Ministers (Missionaries)...on Martha's Vineyard, and the adjacent Islands, p. 307, appended to Experience Mayhew, Indian Converts, London 1727.

which the author wrote, "I drew the materials in a rude lump at Sea, as a private help to my memory that I might not by my present absence lightly lose what I had so dearly bought".[1] Not only was his book deservedly popular in its own day for its expressed purpose, but it is invaluable for its insight into the way of life of the Narragansets and their neighbors.

Reverend Samuel Treat, of Eastham is supposed to have published about 1707 a translation of the Confession of Faith in the Nauset tongue, spoken on the eastern part of Cape Cod. No copy of this can now be found.

Manuscript Literature in the New England Dialects

There is not much of this; there are a number of sermons preserved that were delivered by Reverend John Cotton, once pastor of the Plymouth church, and by his son Josiah, whose Vocabulary of the Massachuset Language (c. 1710) has been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and others; a number of legal papers, some of which have disappeared, to be found in the registries of Dukes, Nantucket, and Plymouth Counties; those of Dukes County often with illuminating translations by Experience Mayhew, in the State Archives and elsewhere, notably in the first records of the town of Natick..(as late as 1716, vide "History of the Town of Natick, Mass." by William Biglow, Boston 1830, page 27).

Two parts of Experience Mayhew's Indian Converts (1727);

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[1]Roger Williams, Key into the Language of America, pp. xix-xx, London 1643, reprinted Providence 1936.

a sermon of Hiacoomes committed to writing by his father; and some of the dying speeches of Mr. Japheth Hannit, third pastor of the Indian church on the Vineyard (op. cit. pages 51-52) were originally written in Indian by his son-in-law, Job Soomannah.

The most interesting items were preserved by Dr. John Dyneley Prince and Prof. Frank G. Speck. They comprise two scraps of native song, obtained at Mohegan (Connecticut), and an interesting sermon written by Djits Budanasha (Flying Bird), known better as Mrs. Fidelia Fielding, and printed in the Journal of American Folklore for April-June 1903. Dr. Speck described her as an admirable type of the old-fashioned Pequot (He meant Mohegan). She said of her work, "I never preached the sermon in a pulpit. I wrote it to read to people who came to my house."[1] Just where Mrs. Fielding learned to write does not appear. She spent her youth among the more conservative of her people whose speech was still Mohegan. It is not true that she was the sole speaker of the language whom Dr. Speck found at Mohegan, but she was the most articulate, and with her death in 1908 the consecutive use of her language came to an end. The Bureau of Ethnology published her diary in 1928, edited by Dr. Speck, who under the direction of his teacher rescued the memory of much of the old aboriginal culture of New England before it exemplified the end of one of the before-mentioned

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[1]Frank G. Speck, American Anthropologist, Modern Mohegan Pequot Text, vol. 6, p. 469 (1903).

song-fragments:

Ni Mussechu (I shall pass away.)

Indian Literature in English

It is desirable to give some consideration to the Indian authors who wrote in English.

On Martha's Vineyard, Mrs. Mary A. Clegett Vanderhopp contributed in 1904 a series of articles on the history of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard (especially Gay Head) to the New Bedford Standard. This is a valuable illustrated source of the history of her people, marred in one or two places by too great a sense of humor.

On Cape Cod, one Nelson D. Simons of Mashpee, a graduate of Suffolk Law School, has written some poetry, especially on "The Little Village of Mashpee", and began a history of his people. Manitasikaum, who claimed to be a Nauset Indian, but whose neighbors thought White (Clarence S. Wixon, also called Red Shell and Mr. Sequoin) wrote a history of his people for the Sandwich Independent. The Sandwich Independent was a weekly printed in Wareham at the office of the Wareham Courier, and the files were destroyed by the September Hurrican (1938) so that the most wanted chapter is unknown to this writer. Part of the work is in the possession of the Old Colony Historical Society (Taunton, Mass.). It is of little, if any, historical value.

Of the Wampanoag (the people of King Philip, and his

father, Massasoit), in 1878 Zerviah Gould Mitchell, a descendant, published "Indian History, Biography and Genealogy: pertaining to the Good SACHEM MASSASOIT of the Wampanoag Tribe, and his Descendants", written by Ebenezer W. Peirce, to which she contributed a preface of three pages. There is some interesting manuscript belonging to this family which is being traced. At the time refered to, Mrs. Mitchell had not entirely lost her own language, but there is no trace of it in her book. In 1839 there was published at Vernon, New York, the "Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Paul Cuffe, a Pequot Indian, during thirty years spent at sea and in travelling in foreign lands", a small tract of nineteen pages. Paul Cuffe was by association a Wampanoag, altho largely of Pequot descent. His father, who was well-received in England, was a Negro on his father's side, as his silhouette shows. He left a journal and other papers preserved in the library at New Bedford. He was a Friend, a man of great ability, and prominent in the work of colonizing Negroes in Africa. He was a ship captain, and altho an active philanthropist, left more property than was usual for a man of his race. A grandson, apparently of the Negro Community, has written his life.

The curious may consult "A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince" written by herself (2nd ed. Boston 1853). Mrs. Prince was three-quarters African -an integral part of the Negro community, who visited St. Petersburg (Lenin-

grad), Jamaica, etc. and was glad enough to return to Boston.

Among the Narraganset, one Thomas Commuck printed, "Indian Melodies" harmonized by Thomas Hastings, Esq., New York, Published by G. Lane and C. B. Tippett for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Thomas Commuck was one of the Brothertown Indians removed to Wisconsin. He notes[1]: "that no son of the forest to his knowledge has ever undertaken a task of the kind", and naively, "that notwithstanding all other ends which may result from the publication of this work, his object is to make a little money". He has done a service in preserving some melodies, largely minors, which the Christian Indians used to sing.

Another hymnologist was Samson Occom (Mohegan Tribe) who published in 1774, "A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs". Some once-quite-popular hymns seem to have been the work of Occom's pen. His own work went thru three editions, and he had a hand in one or more others. His most famous hymn was "Awak'd by Sinai's Awful Sound", which appeared in two distinct versions without his name. Love credits him with both. Translated, it was still sung by the Iroquois: (1901)

"Neh' Ogyet' he' ni yut gaih' nih...."

Despite the wide use of his hymns, Samson Occom was least known as a hymnologist. As a schoolmaster on Montauk (1749-1761) he has left us our best account of that people, which is unfortunately very brief and is published in the collections of

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[1]W. Deloss Love, Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England, p. 180, Pilgrim Press, Boston 1899.

the Massachusetts Historical Society. A large amount of his manuscript, including his autobiography and most of his journals, are in the library of Dartmouth College. The sermon delivered Sept. 2, 1772, on the occasion of the execution of Moses Paul, a Cape Cod Indian, for the murder of one Moses Cook of Waterbury, at New Haven, was commended by the Connecticut Courant: "The plainness of speech to his brother Indian against the sin of drunkenness is striking". This sermon was printed and passed thru nineteen editions, one in verse, and one (1827) in Welsh. It now fetches twenty dollars (at Goodspeed's) for a good copy.

A more recent Mohegan writer is (Miss) Gladys Tantaquidgeon, one of whose ancestors captured Miantinomo, the famous Narraganset Sachem, then considered the greatest in New England. Gladys Tantaquidgeon has been a student of Dr. Frank G. Speck. Her writings have been in anthropology, concerning her own people and those of Gay Head.

William Apes, a Pequot, wrote several books of historical interest. His "Recollections of a Forest Life" is interesting, altho he is too prone to quote others. He claimed, it is hard to see how, descent from King Philip; and wrote, "An Eulogy to King Philip". His "Indian Nullification", which is said to have been recast, or even written by a White man, is nevertheless a vivid account of the process by which the Indians of Mashpee, still an Indian town, seized control of their own reservation to the point of refusing to let wood be carried

from it and to remove the missionary, to the chagrin of the missionary society. Much of it has been inserted bodily into the narrative of Frederick Freeman's "History of Cape Cod", in his chapter on Mashpee.

The last author on our list, Rev. Roland T. Heacock, is a Schaghticoke Indian, a poet and pastor of a Negro church in Springfield.

About 1941, the Narraganset Tribe published a monthly magazine, "The Narragansett Dawn". It did not last two years.

CHAPTER V : DANIEL GOOKIN'S PROPOSAL

THE PLAN A very different scheme of education was put forward by Major Daniel Gookin[1], who had been appointed in 1656, the General Magistrate of all the Praying Indians of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The book in which he presents it fully was never published in his lifetime; but it is evident that he took steps to have it carried out. We shall present it in full, in his own words:

"First that utmost endeavors be used with all industry and diligence, that the Indians especially the children and youth, may be taught to speak, read and write the English tongue.

For this end I propose first, that as many of their children as may be procured, with the free consent of their parents and relations may be placed in sober and Christian families, as apprentices, until the youths are twenty one years and the maids eighteen years of age; the males to be instructed in the trades practised by their masters: and the females in good housewifery of all sorts; with this provision in all contracts and indentures that they shall be taught to read and write the English tongue at the cost of their masters. And this may be easily accomplished because servants are scarce in New England.

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[1]Daniel Gookin: Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, volume one, number one, (1792) page 219 seq. originally (in manuscript) dated 1674. Boston 1792 reprinted Boston 1806.

The ordering of this affair must be committed to the management of prudent persons, that have an interest in the Indians, and that may be able, by their authority and wisdom, so to urge this case with the Indians, as to convince them that this way is for their children's good; for they are generally so indulgent to their children that they are not easily persuaded to put them forth to the English.

Secondly, another way for bringing this matter to pass, is by setting up one or two free schools, to learn them to read and write English. But because this way hath some difficulty in it: partly because, first, a suitable pious person for a schoolmaster will not be willing to leave the English society and to live constantly among the Indians as such work will require: and secondly, how the Indian children that are sent to school shall be provided with diet and clothing without charge to the Indian stock- excepting only a blue coat for each of them once a year which will not cost much; but may greatly encourage the Indians: and therefor it must be contrived, for effecting this thing, that those difficulties may be obviated.

For the accomplishing this matter for the Indians within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, I have consulted and advised, not only with Mr. Eliot; and we both joined in a proposal to the honored Commissioners of the United Colonies at their last meeting, desiring them to move the right honorable the Corporation at London about it; but also with most of the

prime rulers and teachers of the Praying Indians and they have generally agreed and approved the expedient: and I trust in God that the Right Honorable the Corporation at London will in due season approve it: and give direction unto the Commissioners in New England to put it in execution. The expedient proposed is as follows.

1. There is an Indian village within twenty-eight or thirty miles of Boston westward upon the road to Connecticut called Okommakamesit alias Marlborough which lieth very near the center of most of the Praying villages. This Indian plantation joineth unto an English town called Marlborough; so that the English and English plantations bear the same name. In this Indian plantation there is a piece of fertile land containing above 150 acres upon which the Indians have not long since lived, and planted several apple trees thereupon, which bear abundance of fruit; but now the Indians are removed from it about a mile. This tract of land doth so imbosom itself into the English town, that it is encompassed about with it, except one way; and upon the edge of this land the English have placed their meeting house; which is an argument to demonstrate that they look at it as near the midst of their town, according to the general computation and practice. This parcel of land, with the addition of twenty acres of the nearest meadow and a woodlot of about fifty acres is well worth £ 200 in money: and yet the Indians will willingly devote it for this work; for it brings little or no profit to them nor

is ever like to do; because the Englishmen's cattle &c devour all in it because it lies open and unfenced; and while the Indians planted there it was in a sort fenced by them; yet by their improvidence and bad fences they reaped little benefit in those times and that was one cause of their removal. Now I propose that the parcel of land above expressed, be set apart for an Indian free school and confirmed by an act of the General Court of this Colony, unto the Corporation for the Indians for this end forever; and that it be infenced with a stone wall into two or three enclosures for corn, pastures &c and this may be done easily because there are stones enough at hand upon it: and then to build a convenient house for a schoolmaster and his family and under the same roof may be room for a school; also to build some outhouses for corn, hay, cattle &c. The charge of all this will not amount to above £200 in money. This being done, the place will be fit to accomodate a schoolmaster and his family without any other salary but the use of this farm. Moreover it is very probable that the English people of Marlborough will gladly and readily send their children to the same school, and pay the schoolmaster for them; which will better his maintenance; for they have no school in that place at the present: in which regard I have heard some of the most prudent among them lament; but it being chargeable to raise a school and maintain a schoolmaster for twenty or thirty children the inhabitants are backward to do it, until they are compelled to by the laws of the

country which require that every village consisting of fifty families to provide a school to teach the English tongue and to write; but these people of Marlborough, wanting a few of fifty families, do take that low advantage to ease their purses of this common charge. But as soon as this school herein proposed is set up, it will be their interest to put their children to it, being the most thrifty and facile way they can take; and hereby the schoolmaster will be advanced in his neighborhood and communion with the English church there; and this will tend to remove the first difficulty. Besides, the English and Indian children, learning together in the same school, will much promote the Indians' learning to speak the English tongue: of which we have had experience when Indian children were taught by English schoolmasters at Roxbury and Cambridge, in former years, when several Indian children were kept at those schools, at the great charge of the Corporation for the Indians.

2. But a second difficulty is this: how shall these Indian children, though they have had their schooling free, be accommodated for diet and clothing, without publick charge? I answer, that I have conferred with several of the most prudent and judicious praying Indians of the other towns, who make it no difficulty to provide diet for their children, with the Indians, their countrymen, that inhabit in that place: for diet among them is at reasonable rates, being mean for quality, and yet best suiting their bodies in point of health. And as for

clothing, a little serves them and that mean; and that their parents can provide; especially if the Honourable Corporation order them a blue coat once a year, in the beginning of winter, of which I have spoken before, and also provide them books. But if this design of a free school, to teach the Indians' children, should fail of its end of which there is no cause to doubt; yet the laying out of so much money upon this tract of land aforesaid, will be as I conceive, as good an improvement as can be made of so much of the stock, for the furtherance of the Indian work; for it will be a real estate, and bring a good rent yearly..

3. The like school may be set up in the colony of New Plymouth, if a convenient place may there be found, and set apart for such a work; to which school, for aught I know, the Indian children of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket may be conveniently taught, and all other neighbour Indian children of Narragansitt, Cooawsett[1], and places thereabout, if it shall please the Lord to incline their hearts.

4. Concerning this affair I shall further add, that I have advised with many judicious men of quality among us, who do very well approve of this contrivance as a very good expedient, not only to civilize but to propagate religion among the Indians. And also most of the known and pious Indians earnestly desired it; and the reasons that do occur to encourage that there will be good in it, are, First hereby the

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[1]In Rhode Island. See map.

Indians will be able to converse with the English familiarily; and thereby learn civility and religion from them. Secondly, they will be able to read any English book, the better to teach them the knowledge of God and themselves. And likewise thereby they may sooner come to the understanding of several other arts and sciences wherein English authors do abound. Thirdly, they will hereby be able to understand our English ministers, who are better fitted to instruct them in substantial and sound divinity, than teachers of their own nation, who cannot in reason be imagined to be so sufficient for these things. Fourthly it hath been the observation of some prudent historians, that the changing of the language of a barbarous people, into the speech of a more civil and potent nation that hath conquered them, hath been an approved experiment, to reduce such a people unto the civility and religion of the prevailing nation. And I incline to believe, that if that course had been effectually taken with the Irish, their enmity and rebellion against the English had been long since cured or prevented....."

WHAT CAME OF IT The land was deeded[1] but in the name of the Major himself, to whose descendants it eventually fell. The school, thanks to King Philip's War, came to naught. That there might be a central school for the Indians to do what the Indian College at Harvard at one time promised to do, but did

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[1]His deed bears the date May 2, 1667. Charles Hudson, History of the Town of Marlborough....page 60-61. Boston 1862. There is a map of the land on page 31.

not, was a crying need which was never met. That such a school should teach English to more individuals was certainly desirable. Especially was it desirable that the field of secular learning should not be as closed to the Indians as it was.

Certainly Gookin's plan was extremely defective; in being niggardly to the point of being inevitably ineffective. The apprenticeship part of the plan was old when he broached it. At times successful, it is an open question whether any other one thing did the New England Indian more harm. Again, the Indian openly lost his planting field; it was evident that even without King Philip's War, he would lose his home, too. Just how, even then, after tending a 250 acre farm, and teaching twenty or more English lads, any schoolmaster with no more than one head and two hands could leaven the whole Massachuset and Neepmuck nations we do not see!

The matter did come to the attention of the commissioners and they required the rulers and teachers of the Indians to:[1]

> ...take effectuall order therein by Improueing either English or Indians as they best may and the necessary Charges thereof shalbe Considered by the Commissioners att theire next meeting.

With this notice, official action seems to have been dropped.

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[1] Acts of Commissioners of the United Colonies, vol. 2, p. 368, March 24th, 1678-1679, in Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, Ed. David Pulsifer, Boston, 1859.

CHAPTER VI : SOME INDIAN SCHOOLS

Harvard as an Indian College

The School. As early as 1635 a philanthropic Londoner suggested a college for the education of Indians.[1] Nothing came of this. The first President of Harvard, Henry Dunster, was interested in the education of Indians. In 1650 the Colony of Massachusetts Bay gave Harvard a charter, "for all accommodations of buildings and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian Youth of this Country in knowledge and godliness."[2] For this purpose the English society proposed in September 1653 to erect "one Intyre Rome (room) att the College for the Convenience of six hopfull Indians youthes to bee trained up there ...which Rome may be two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable". The college was authorized to erect such a building at a cost not exceeding 120 pounds, "besides glass".[3] President Dunster, who had already had experience with two lads furnished by John Eliot, secured permission to erect in its stead a much larger structure.[3] We have no picture of it, nor is it exactly known where it stood.

In 1665, Col. George Cartwright, one of the Royal Commissioners, wrote sarcastically: "At Cambridge they haue a

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[1]Allan Forbes, Other Indian Events of New England, p. 64, Boston 1941.
[2]Op. cit., p. 65.
[3]Ibid., pp. 65-66.

small colledg (made of wood) for the English; and a small brick pile for the Indians, where there was but one; one was lately dead, & 3 or 4 more (Indians) they had at schole, as they sayd".[1]

Major Gookin, writing in 1674, says[2]

> It passeth under the name of the Indian college. It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three and four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college. The house was built and finished at the charge and by the appointment, of the Honourable Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in New England."

In 1680, two Dutchmen, seeking a home for an obscure sect, Hans Sluyter and Jaspar Danckaerts, "passed by the printing office, but there was nobody in it; the paper sash, however, being broken, we looked in, and saw two presses with six or eight cases of type. There was not much work done there."[3]

Samuel E. Morison, in his History of Harvard University[4], supposes:

> Almost any day the students, when passing through the yard, could peer through the windows of the Indian College, and watch the Indian "devil", James Printer, sweating at the hand lever, Marmaduke feeding in sheets of paper and removing

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[1]Allan Forbes, Other Indian Events of New England, p. 67, Boston 1941.

[2]Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians of New England, ch. 5, p. 176, printed in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 1, Boston 1792, reprinted Boston 1806.

[3]Quoted in Forbes, op. cit., p. 67.

[4]Op. cit., p. 74.

them with that neat-fingered deftness of the trained printer, and Sergeant Green setting up type for the next sheet.

Pupils. Allan Forbes, in his brochure, "Other Indian Events of New England", p. 69, supposes "that probably only six or seven ever attended this 'Colledge'". Surely the number was not large. Daniel Gookin's picture is the fullest that has come to us:[1]

> Some of the choice Indian youths were put to school with English schoolmasters, to learn both the English, Latin and Greek tongues.
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> There was much cost out of the Corporation stock expended in this work, for fitting and preparing the Indian youth to be learned and able preachers unto their countrymen. Their diet, apparel, books, and schooling, was chargeable. In truth the design was prudent, noble and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed. For several of the said youths died, after they had been sundry years at learning, and made good proficiency therein. Others were disheartened and left learning, after they were almost ready for the college. And some returned to live among their countrymen; where some of them were improved for schoolmasters and teachers unto which they are advantaged by their education. Some others of them have entered upon other callings; one is a mariner; another a carpenter; another went for England with a gentleman that lived sometimes at Cambridge in New-England, named Mr. Drake, which Indian, as I heard, died there not many months after his arrival.
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> I remember but only two of them all, that lived in the college at Cambridge; the one named Joel; the other, Caleb.

Caleb Cheeshahteamuck. The only Indian actually to graduate at Harvard was Caleb Cheesecaumuk, as his name is applied, as Senior Sophister to two Greek and Latin elegies. His name is variously spelled and he was the son of a petty sachem called Cheshchaamog, of Holmes Hole, on Martha's Vineyard. His Latin address to his benefactors is in the Royal Society[2] in

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[1] Gookin, op. cit., pp. 172-173.
[2] Forbes, op. cit., p. 69.

London. President Chauncey said that both were called upon trial, at the Public Commencement, before the Magistrates and Elders, and in the face of the Country, and there upon very little warning gave great contentment to them that were present, they being examined in turning a part of a chapter in Isaiah into Latin, and showing the construction of it.

Daniel Gookin says of Caleb:[1]

> Caleb, not long after he took his degree of bachelor of art (received degree 1665, died 1666) at Cambridge in New England, died of a consumption at Charlestown, where he was placed by Mr. Thomas Danforth, who had inspection over him, under the care of a physician in order to his health; where he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both of food and physick, but God denied the blessing, and put a period to his days. Of this disease of the consumption sundry of those Indian youths died, that were bred up to school among the English. The truth is this disease is frequent among the Indians; and sundry die of it, that live not with the English. A hectic fever, issuing in a consumption, is a common and mortal disease among them. I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great change upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies, so different from what they were inured to among their countrymen.

His Family. It is interesting to note that Experience Mayhew, in his Indian Converts, mentions two of his sisters. One, named Ammapoo, and by the English Abigail, was very pious; and the other, named Nattootumau, by marriage, Hannah Nohnosoo, died at Tisbury in 1716. She was pious also, but is remarkable as having been a physician, in the Indian way:[2]

> Having very considerable Skill in some of the Distempers to which human

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[1]Gookin, op. cit.
[2]Experience Mayhew, Indian Converts, p. 164, London 1727.

bodies are subject, and in the Nature of many of those Herbs and Plants which were proper remedies against them, she often did good by her Medicines among her Neighbors, especially the poorer sort of them, whom she readily served without asking anything for what she did for them. Nor did she only serve the Indians this way, but was to my knowledge sometimes employed by the English also. And I have sometimes heard her, when she had been asked whether she could help this or the other Person under the Indispositions wherewith they were exercised, make this wise and religious answer: I do not know but I may, if it please God to bless Means for that end, otherwise I can do nothing.

Among the cases wherein she, by her Medicines, did good to her Neighbors, I shall particularly mention one only; Several Women, some English and some Indians, being divers Years after Marriage without the Blessing of Children, having barren Wombs and dry Breasts, which persons in a married state are scarce ever pleased with, some of these Women applying themselves to the good old Hannah of whom I am now speaking for help in cases that thus afflicted them, have soon after become joyful Mothers of Children, for which Comfort, under God, they have been obliged to her.

Joel. Even more than Caleb, Gookin extolled Joel Hiacommes, who was killed when wrecked on Nantucket, on a trip home just before Commencement, 1665. He wrote: "Thus perished our hopeful prophet, Joel. He was a good scholar and a pious man... I knew him well, for he lived and was taught in the same town where I dwell." Joel wrote several sermons and gave lectures. He was "so ripe in learning that he should within a few months have taken his first degree of Bachelor of Art in the College".

Others. Another Indian student was John Wampas, "Indian and Seaman", from Hassanamisco. He had to make a mark on a document, presumably after leaving school. Someone testified in 1677 that "since he came out of England, about four months past, he takes no employment, but travils up and downe, in a vagrant idle way. He died on a trip to England several years later.

The Class of 1679 had an Indian called Eleazer who did well, we are told, but did not graduate. Forbes says he was the last to attend the "Indian College". He was probably from Ponkapog and wrote a Greek and a Latin elegy on the death of Rev. Thomas Thatcher, of Boston and Weymouth who died in 1678, who may have preached there. The poems were signed Eleazer, Indian Senior Sophister. The best colonial poetry was none too profound, but we will give a few lines as a memorial to Eleazer: (in English)

"Though earth contains his dust, his name is yet immortal;
It shall light the future ages as o'er the past it beamed
While his soul, set free from prison seeks the ever open portal
Where the shining ones are waiting to welcome the redeemed
I sing of one, though tears bedew the page
Mourned by the present as the former age
Mourned as was Memnon by Achilles slain...
Thacher, 'tis virtue that thy name endears
Virtue that climbs beyond the starry spheres
To men of station and of low degree
Thy faith shone far, like beacons oer the Sea."[1]

A "Merchaunt of Boston",[2] writing in 1675, says that John Sassamon "was brought up at the College at Cambridge". The Steward's records testify that he was there in 1653.

John and Thomas Stanton (White, but educated on the Indian account and for the Indian work), sons of the well-known Indian interpreter, also went to Harvard at an early date. The former evidently did not behave too well, because he was reprimanded for "slinging stones at Mr. Stedman's glass windows".[2]

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[1]Cotton Mather, Magnalia, vol. 1, bk. 3, pp. 447-448, London 1702, reprinted New Haven 1820.
[2]Forbes, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

The same "Merchaunt of Boston" in the "Old Indian Chronicle" (page 6, Boston 1865), wrote: "In this fight (Pocasset Swamp, July 1675) were killed King Philip's Brother, his Privy Counselor (being one formerly educated at Cambridge)...." which is supposed to be his brother Sunconewhew, who was living in 1668 and is otherwise unaccounted for. It is also possible that it was another brother, as far as we know.

End of the School. Finally the school fell out of use.[1] On Sept. 19, 1695, the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians took action that the bricks belonging to the Indian building which "is gone into decay & become altogether useless" be removed, and "that in case any Indians should thereafter be sent to ye Colledge, that they should enjoy their studies rent free in said building (Stoughton)", and in 1698 Sewall wrote[1], "In the beginning of this Moneth of May the old Brick College, commonly called the Indian Colledge, is pulled down to the ground, being sold to Mr. Willis, the builder of Mr. Stoughton's Colledge."

Later Students. Many years later, in 1716, supported by a legacy for the Indian work, given by Robert Boyle, there appeared another Indian, Benjamin Larnel. He was dismissed for misconduct during his junior year, but was restored to good standing by public confession, which President Leverett mentions as of "a peculiar grace", which "ratified wonderfully that which I had conceived of him". He, too, died soon

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[1]Forbes, op. cit., p. 67.

afterwards, before finishing his course, but is described by the president as "an acute Grammarian, an Extraordinary Latin Poet, and a good Greek one".[1]

The son of Awashonks, the Wampanoag Squa-Sachem who sided with the English in King Philip's War, was destined for college; but he was seized with a palsy. His name was William Mommynewit.[2]

An interesting item in the Itineraries of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College,[3] may tell us the name of another Indian student of Harvard: "Jan. 24, 1762, Conversat. with Capt Tucker of Newport who was at New Orleans on the Mississippi in July last. -

He told me that he there saw an Indian (Brother to the Sachem of the Ind. near Quebec) who spake French and English & wrote Latin, who commanded the Indians in 1755 ag^{t} Gen. Braddock at Fort du Quesne. He said the French Army consisted then of 300 French and 600 Indians...The Ind Warrior incensed (at division of the spoil) tried to prevail on Capt Tucker to bring him off and carry him to Gen. Johnson to join the English...He was a good Draftsman, & drew the Forts on Mississippi & said he was perfectly acquainted with all the back settlements on the Lakes, and that he had been at Harvard College in New England."

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[1]Forbes, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

[2]Samuel G. Drake, Book of the Indians, Bk. 3, p. 72, 1st Ed. 1832; this is about 1840 (title page gone).

[3]Franklin B. Dexter (ed.), Extracts from the Itineraries...of Ezra Stiles, p. 41, Yale University Press, New Haven 1916.

Dartmouth College as an Indian School

In spite of the regard in which the name of Samson Occom is held, that we regard Dartmouth College as an Indian School is done with a note of apology. It is evident that the school would not exist without the plans of Wheelock and Moore to educate Indians, and no college could have been supported without the solicitations of Occom and Wittaker. Still, when in 1938, one Amelia Peters of Mashpee tried to enter, an official remarked:[1]

> You can't find a single written word in the Dartmouth rules and regulations that Indians even have to be accepted or, once members of the student body, must be given a free education. We have always treated Indians more than fairly, and that is because Dartmouth was originally an Indian school. But Indians have flunked out too, when they could not make the grade.

For an individual to found a college in New England was without precedent. As a White college, it was the result of unforeseen accidents; that there was not a third accident - to change it into a state university - was but narrowly averted by the Dartmouth College Case, decided upon a decidedly thinner ruling of law than in Equity might have saved the school for the Indian for whom its original funds were raised. The results were also the outcome of the interplay of human personalities in which their peculiar motives and foibles had a part. While one rejoices at the creation of a great college, one regrets that a great plan, which might have redeemed the

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[1]Boston Sunday Globe, March 20, 1938. The official's name was Charles E. Widmayer.

race our ancestors replaced but which met them with generosity, was allowed to languish; while that race suffered unnecessarily from deeps of misery, ignorance and intemperance. The Ethics of the participants too did not always agree with our own. The merits of the case were judged by those on the spot; and to their best ability. Their decisions cannot be undone, altho at any time within a hundred and fifty years a little more attention to the educational needs of the New England Indians might have been fruitful. To explain the existence of Dartmouth as an Indian school, it will be necessary to dwell much on the personalities of Doctor Eleazer Wheelock and of Rev. Samson Occom; especially as regards the latter we must be guided by his lucid life as written by W. DeLoss Love, himself a graduate of Hamilton College, of similar antecedents to Dartmouth, but further west.

Especially during his mission in England and Scotland, there was controversy as to whether, as claimed, Samson Occom was converted by Eleazer Wheelock, or brought up a Christian. Rumors and squibs were circulated concerning him, calling him a Mohawk, or charging that far from the Mohegans being in "gross paganism", "lectures and schoolmasters were then supported among them". It is impossible to reconcile all statements.

Samson Occom, himself, wrote:[1]

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[1]Leon Burr Richardson (compiler), An Indian Preacher in England, p. 70, Stephen Daye Press, Brattleboro, Vt., 1933.

I was born a Heathen in Mmoyouheeunnuck alias Mohegan in New London in North America. My parents were altogether Heathens and I was Educated by them in their Heathenish Notions, tho there was a Sermon preach'd to our Mohegan Tribe Some Times but our Indians regarded not the Christian Religion, they would persist in their Heathenish way, and my Parents in particular Were very Strong in Customs of their Forefathers, and they led a wandering Life up and down in the Wilderness, for my Father was a great Hunter (Joshua Ockham, or Maucum); thus I lived with them, till I was sixteen years of age, and then there was a great Stir of Religion in these parts of the World both amongst the Indians as well as the English and about this time I began to think about the Christian Religion, and was under great trouble of Mind for Some Time.

I thought the Religion in which I heard at this time was a new thing among mankind, Such as they never heard the like before so ignorant was I - and when I was seventeen years of age I received a Hope, and as I began to think about Religion So I began to learn to read, tho I went to no School till I was in my nineteenth year and then I went to Rev. Mr. Wheelock's to learning, and spent four years there, and was very weakly most of the time; this is the true account of my Education.

Eleazer Wheelock is almost too well-known to require further comment. His reception of Samson Occom as a student seems to have been made with no expectation of reward; altho it is known that his mother made some return in menial service. Samson Occom seems to have made his home in a hut, which he built near the doctor's home; and he seems to have been furnished with second-hand clothes by charitably-disposed individuals.

It is known that Doctor Wheelock never received any compensation for his services "throughout his connection with the Indian School and later with Dartmouth College. In fact at his death the institution owed him for money advanced for

their support, over £ 1700 lawful money."[1]

It seems that Samson Occom sought out Dr. Wheelock; and not the reverse, and that at a time when his Indian School had not been begun.

At this time (December 1743) my Poor Mother was going to Lebanon and having some knowledge of Mr. Wheelock and Learning that he had a number of English Youth under his Tuition I had a great Inclination to go to him and to be with him a while or a Fortnight, and Desired my Mother to Ask Mr. Wheelock whether he would take me a little while to Instruct me in Reading. Mother did so, and when she came back, she said Mr. Wheelock wanted to see me as soon as possible. So I went up, thinking I should be back again in a few days. When I got there, he received me with kindness & compassion & instead of staying a Fortnight or three weeks, I spent 4 years with him.[2]

On the day when he came to Dr. Wheelock he began a diary which he kept thruout his life in a clear and easy hand. Unfortunately not all is now extant. He studied the Bible, Music, Latin, and doubtless other studies. He joined Dr. Wheelock's Church at Lebanon. On the tenth of November (1747) he left to take charge of a nearby school. In the following spring he studied Hebrew under Reverend Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron. In this language he is known to have acquired some proficiency. Then he was to study theology under Reverend Solomon Williams of Lebanon, but the condition of his health and eyes precluded this as well as admission to college. Reverend Samuel Buell, who preached his ordination sermon, said: "He made such progress in Learning that he was so well fitted

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[1]Op. cit., p. 254.
[2]W. DeLoss Love, Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England, p. 36, Pilgrim Press, Boston 1899.

for admittance to College (which was designed) that he doubtless would have entered upon his Second year at his first admission."[1]

In his letters and sermons, a familiarity with English grammar is shown which was difficult for an Indian to acquire. He is known to have studied Music as a daily exercise in the minister's home. "Yet it must not be supposed that Occom was a scholar judged by present standards, or even by the English youth of his day. His main attainment was a knowledge of the Scriptures, which he had studied with a living interest. He had not gathered any treasures of theology with which to fill his discourses; but he understood and held with intellectual vigor and clearness the principal doctrines of the Christian faith. With his native aptitude at illustrating these truths he was fitted to become a useful teacher among his brethren."[2, 3]

In November, 1749, in his twenty-seventh year, he began to serve at Montauk (the easternmost extremity of Long Island) as schoolmaster,[4] preacher and judge where he remained nearly twenty years. He had visited many different settlements of Indians, including Natick on November 17, 1748, hearing the

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[1]Love, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
[2]Love, op. cit., loc. cit.
[3]Love, op, cit., p. 148. McClure in his diary says that Occom's reputation was such in Scotland that some Gentlemen there offered to obtain for him a Doctorate in Divinity from the University of Edinburgh, but he modestly declined the honor.
[4]Love, op. cit., p. 43.

story of the town from Deacon Ephraim himself, and had been to Montauk while still a student of Doctor Wheelock. In the summer of 1749, however, he visited Montauk on a fishing excursion. He left his companions to their employment and went among the wigwans to hold meetings. Ere the time came for the party to return, the Indians had invited him to come and set up a school among them. The only support offered him was such as they could give him; and they were very poor. He communicated with Doctor Wheelock and on his advice accepted the school for six months as an experiment.

His remuneration was a sore point. The charge has been repeatedly made that Samson Occom was a poor manager. When he removed from Montauk to Mohegan, he erected a decent two-story house. This survived until recent times, and we have a sketch of it by Barber and a photograph. The cost was over £ 100 and Doctor Wheelock found himself obligated to assist in its completion. It proved a providential haven to Occom when his resources were low. Surely we find him working at very menial occupation without complaint, except as to the returns. At Montauk, he expected payment. The Indians gave him for the first six months besides his board £ 10 York money, to which some English friends added about 40 shillings. His annual salary from the missionary society when it came was only £ 20. He afterwards wrote that in his whole stay they paid him £ 180. "The young Uncas at Mohegan had received three times that sum.

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[1]Love, op. cit., p. 44.

We shall not wonder, therefor, at finding that he became involved in debt, in which the missionary society at the entreaty of his friends generously aided him. More especially, however, do we refer to this matter because Occom always felt that he did not receive an adequate support[1] ... He thought he ought to receive at least half as much as his White brother ... He was compelled to toil on, as he did thruout his days to the day of his death in poverty. Sometimes, he says, he was in actual need of the necessaries of life."

"Yet this inadequate provision for his support at Montauk did not discourage him.[2] He took up his work with zeal and wisdom. The first winter he gathered about thirty scholars into his school, and instructed in the evening such as could not attend during the day. As a teacher he was always successful. He had a kindergarten method of his own in teaching the alphabet. Finding that the children could distinguish the letters by ear, but could not so well by sight, he cut letters out of paper, pasted them on cedar chips, and at his word the one named would be brought to him out of the pile. Such ingenuity was characteristic of him in his teaching. By this means he soon aroused an interest in learning among his pupils and under his native patience they progressed rapidly, advancing from the primer to the reading of the Bible."[2]

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[1]See p. 116, Chap. VIII (note 4)
[2]Love, op. cit., p. 45.

The Scotch Society planned a missionary to the Cherokees which was canceled by war. In the meanwhile, Samson Occom, whose whole background was Congregational, was ordained, not by the Windham Association (of Connecticut) but by the Suffolk Presbytery of Long Island; and he remained a Presbyterian the balance of his life.

Poverty continued to mark his days at Montauk, and Wheelock wrote Whitefield in 1756 that he had "scarce any books but what he borrowed".[1] Some were then furnished him. Indeed the trade he took up to keep the wolf from the door was book-binding. He bought a mare with which to travel to and fro among his Montauk parishioners, but she fell into a quicksand. He purchased another. It was stolen. A third died of distemper. The fourth had a colt and then broke her leg, and presently the colt died also. So he gave up, and walked. Altho he was boarded he relied upon his skill at hunting and fishing. He was also a worker in wood, a maker of spoons, ladles, gunstocks, pails, piggins and churns. A tract of land was assigned to him, and this he tilled, sometimes with the help of his pupils. In 1755 he tells us he had "four acres of good corn".[2]

The best account of the beliefs of the Indians at Montauk was written by Samson Occom, but it is brief, only about four pages in length, leaving most ethnological problems unanswered

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[1]Love, op. cit., p. 46.
[2]Love, op. cit., p. 47.

and not beginning to cover their history. It is found in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 18. When at Montauk, he made the acquaintance of one Mary Fowler, whose father greeted the missionary when he himself was still a heathen. In the spring Reverend Solomon Williams advised him "to be cautious in choosing a wife lest he should put himself in such circumstances as might render him less able to answer the design of his education, being uncertain where the commissioners would employ him"....."He answered, his marrying there would not prevent his readiness to go where the Commissioners should please to send him, either on the Island or on the Main;"[1] so soon after his return to Montauk he married. Two of his brothers-in-law, David (born 1735) and Jacob (born in 1750) "became the dearest friends of his life and their services were interwoven with his to the end."[2]

McClure gives us the following account of his family: "He appeared to preside in his family with dignity & to have his children in subjection. In these however & in his wife, he was not happy. He wished to live in English style, but his wife who was of the Montauk Tribe retained a fondness for her Indian customs. She declined, evening & morning setting at table. Her dress was mostly Indian & when he spoke to her in English, she answered in her native language, although she could speak good English. His children, when they left him,

[1] W. DeLoss Love, op, cit. p. 54
[2] Op. cit., p. 55

adopted the wild & roving life of Savages. "There is much truth in this statement though the wife was certainly an estimable Christian woman, and all his children did not turn out as indicated."[1] Certainly much of his family's failings may be laid to his absence from them in England, when they needed him most, as shall appear.

Samson Occom, like his father, was a member of the Council of the Mohegan Tribe (see map) to which he belonged. This tribe was engaged in a protracted dispute with the Colony of Connecticut concerning its lands. The merits of the case need not detain us. Samson Occom was severely taxed for this activity, which, it was urged, would destroy his usefulness in his ministerial profession. Strongly advised, Samson Occom desisted from that cause. Of the decision which was made, he wrote "The grand controversy which has subsisted between the Colony of Connecticut and the Mohegan Indians above seventy years is finally decided in favor of the Colony. I am afraid the poor Indians will never stand a good chance with the English in their land controversies because they are very poor, they have no money; money is almighty now-a-days, and the Indians have no learning, no wit, no cunning, the English have it all!"[2]

Moor's Indian Charity School.

In 1755, one Joshua Moor of Mansfield, Connecticut, purchased for five hundred pounds, old tenor, about two acres contiguous to the manse in Lebanon, containing "a

[1] Love, op.cit., p. 153
[2] Miss Caulkins, History of Norwich, p. 269, quoted in Love, op. cit., p.123

small dwelling house, and a shop or schoolhouse" which he put in trust "for the educating such of the Indian Natives of any or all the Indian Tribes in North America or other poor persons".[1] The first master of the school, Moses Barrett, was the previous owner, so that the continuation of a preexistent school may be indicated. The trustees of this school were Col. Elisha Williams, once President of Yale, Reverend Samuel Moseley, Reverend Benjamin Pomeroy and Reverend Eleazer Wheelock. From this beginning, Reverend Wheelock organized his school, which became the first college with an individual founder in New England. From his experience with Samson Occom, he had great optimism, which, of doomed to failure, as conceived and presented, was destined to great accomplishment.

"Wheelock depended rather upon the high ideal which he hoped to produce in the individual. Hence he sought to gather the fittest apart where they might after years attain it... Indian civilization will never flourish unless the educated individual is placed in a favorable environment. That was precisely what Samson Occom afterwards sought to secure by his scheme of gathering the Christian Indians of New England in a town away from demoralizing influences.[2] Dr. Wheelock did not sufficiently consider the corresponding perils attending the young native teacher when returned to his heathen surroundings. Others have made the same mistake since his day.

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[1] W. DeLoss Love, op. cit., p. 60

[2] Love has reference to the establishment of Eeyamquittoowauconnuck, or Brothertown, New York 1785.

The strongest could with difficulty stand against such temptations. Apostasies have always arisen thus in the history of Indian missions. He entrusted the faith to mere youths, gave them a measure of authority, sent them far away from the protection of his school, and then was easily discouraged if they failed to stand the test."[1] Even before this date, he wrote in May 1754 to Rev. John Brainerd, then employed among the Delaware Indians under the New York Correspondents of the Scotch Society requesting him to send two promising Indian boys as students. Before they arrived he awakened the interest of the Windham Association of which he was a member, and Reverend George Whitefield. On the 18th of December, 1754, there arrived John Pumshire aged fourteen and Jacob Woolley aged eleven both Delawares. The former died soon after; the latter proved a good scholar, till he "could read Virgil and Tully and the Greek Testament very handsomely", entered the College of New Jersey, 1759, but his college career was interrupted and he ran away and drops out of our account.

"Subscription for its benefit of the face value of five hundred pounds (not all paid) had been raised in Connecticut. From time to time collections were taken in various churches. The Boston Commissioners of the London Society could be relied upon for an annual grant of twenty pounds, while the General Court of Massachusetts had also voted a yearly sum of seventy-two pounds from the fund left by Sir Peter Warren. Contribu-

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[1]Love, op. cit., p. 254

tions and legacies...were from time to time received...Despite these varied sources of supply, the operation of the school revealed each year a deficit which was made up, as it appears, from the private purse of Wheelock."[1]

The first New England Indian pupil was Sampson Wauby, a Pequot, probably a cousin of Sampson Occom. He taught two Indian schools with little success, dying during the war (1762). Later pupils were Joseph Johnson (December 7, 1758) and Amy, his sister (June 2, 1761) of a prominent Mohegan family; Zachary Johnson, the Counsellor, was their uncle; David Fowler (April 12, 1752), Occom's pupil at Montauk, Aaron Occom (April 27, 1760) his son, and Isaiah Uncas (November 26, 1760) who became the Mohegan Sachem but died early. There were other pupils not from the New England Tribes.

The basis of the school did not satisfy Dr. Wheelock. Lord Halifax in 1757 refused to incorporate it as the proper function of the Colony, and the Colony of Connecticut denied that it possessed the proper authority...The opportunity of incorporation in New Hampshire was one inducement which brought the school to that state.

The idea vegetated; and there was some objection to Occom because of his part in the land controversy between the Mohegan Tribe and the colony of Connecticut;[2] but eventually he was sent with Reverend George Wittaker, a nearby clergyman.

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., p. 10
[2]Richardson, op. cit., p. 20

Delayed by the Stamp Act, they arrived in England February 3, 1766.[1] "Blessed by Thy great Name, O God for Thy goodness to us over the water and hast brought us upon the Land, Lord, wright a law of thankfulness in our Hearts and preserve us on the Land as Thou hast done on the Seas, and deliver us from all Evil, especially from the Evil of Sin-"

Their canvas in England was very successful. It occupied over two years (until March 1768) and in England received £ 9497 from 305 churches and 2169 individuals, besides £ 2529 in Scotland; net proceeds £ 11,000, the largest amount obtained by direct solicitation by any American institution before the Revolution from the people of Europe.

The King contributed £ 200 and may have met Occom although we have no record of such a meeting. Occom's diary, in the extant part does tell of seeing the King go in state to the Houses of Parliament, "amid shouts and acclamations of a joyous people"[1] to sign the bill repealing the Stamp Act. Whittaker, his companion, unlike Occom, aroused some antagonisms, one of which, the jealousy of the English subscribers at his canvas in Scotland under credentials from the Scotch society, may have been unavoidable. His integrity was doubted and some wondered whether Samson Occom had his share in the direction of the enterprise; although as an alert and enterprising business man he certainly contributed to the success of the venture.

[1]Occom's Diary in Richardson, op. cit., pp. 81-87

Samson Occom was quite diplomatic in dealing with the various sects. One in Connecticut had hopes of his taking orders in the Church of England. Such a desire was expressed by William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, but he answered "I had no such view when I came from home."[1] Liberality of view in ecclesiastical matters was always characteristic of him. He expressed a willingness to fellowship with all Christian sects and he uniformly did so throughout his life. This sentiment augmented his success in England. He knew the differences between denominations, but he never uttered a word which made a personal enemy of Independent or Episcopalian, Baptist, Quaker or Methodist. This was no easy task for he was warned by each against the other. Even Dr. Chandler advised him "not to own Mr. Whitefield as a friend, either to Dissenters or to the old standards of the Church of England."[2] In this he had the help of Whitefield. Nevertheless the pomp of the bishops did not overwhelm him.

"Now I am in my own country, I may freely inform you of what I honestly and soberly think of the Bishops, Lord Bishops, and Archbishops of England. In my view they don't look like the gospel bishops or ministers of Christ. I can't find them in the Bible. I think they a good deal resemble the Anti-Christian Popes. I find the Gospel Bishops resemble in some good measure their good Master; and they follow Him in the

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., p. 85
[2]Love, op. cit., pp. 143-144

example He has left them; they discover meekness and humility; are gentle and kind unto all men - ready to do good unto all - they are compassionate and merciful unto the miserable and charitable to the poor. But I did not find the Bishops of England so. Upon my word, if I never spoke the truth before I do now. I waited on a number of bishops, and represented to them the miserable and wretched situation of the poor Indians, who are perishing for lack of spiritual knowledge, and begged their assistance in evangelizing these poor heathen. But if you can believe me, they never gave me one single brass farthing. It seems to me that they are very indifferent whether the poor Indians go to Heaven or Hell. I can't help my thoughts: and I am apt to think they don't want the Indians to go to Heaven with them."[1]

Not only were the financial returns large but the canvassers, especially Occom aroused much enthusiasm. One congregation was estimated at 3000.[2] Robert Keen,[3] spoke of Occom as a "plain, honest man, who is well received wherever he goes". John Thornton, and George Whitefield who saw much of him gave their unqualified commendation.[4] Dr. Andrew Gifford later wrote him: "Your very decent and proper behaviour charmed most if not all who have had the pleasure of conversing with you; and your humility and piety, I doubt not, contributed

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[1]Love, op. cit., p. 145
[2]Loc. cit.
[3]Op. cit., p. 147
[4]Loc. cit.

much to the success of your application for the Indian school."[1] Occom delivered over three hundred sermons or addresses.

Canvas in Scotland To Scotland they carried the belt of Wampum (worth at least fifteen pounds to make) and Samson Occom brought the message from the chief Connoquies of the Oneidas, originally delivered in 1762, the message of which follows:[2]

1. We are glad from the inside of our hearts that you are come here to teach the right way of God. We are also thankful to those who sent you and above all to God.

2. We intend by the help of God to repent of all our sins and all our heathenish ways and customs. We will put them all behind our backs and will never look on them again but will look strait forward and run after Christianity.

3. If we shall try to set up a School we beg the assistance of the English if they see fit.

4. We desire that strong drink may be prohibited, that it may not be brought among us for we find it kills our bodies and souls; and we will try to hinder it here.

5. We desire to be protected on our lands, that none may molest or encroach upon us.

6. This belt of wampum shall bind us fast together in perpetual love and friendship.

The Site for the School Besides money, Wheelock desired a site for the school and incorporation, and so on September 4, 1766, he wrote the Earl of Dartmouth (too late as he had already been removed from office) rather shrewdly:[3]

The nations will not make war with us while their children and especially the children of the chiefs are with us...And by the Royal favor of a tract of land

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[1]Love, op. cit., p. 147
[2]Op. cit., p. 93
[3]Richardson, op. cit., pp. 162-164

in some place convenient, sufficient to accommodate the school and employ the members of it while they are learning husbandry, there is a fair Prospect that more than double the Benefit might be done there, and the Crown with the same pense.

The ethics of the plan resemble those of Indian education at William and Mary. Nathaniel Whittaker wrote,[1] with great confidence of securing land, and asking the desired location:

> You may probably obtain ten, twenty, thirty miles square it may be more and perhaps six or eight miles square for the school: It is certain ye Indians are chiefly westward and for that reason the Susquehanna or Pennsylvania or Ohio are to be preferred to the northern and also on account of the climate..Mr. Whitefield has mentioned something to him already of land in New Hampshire...(he remarks): Mr. Occom tells me that there is a large tract of land on Long Island on ye North Side(e) not far west of Southold which was formerly offered to the Montauk Indians for Montauk and which he thinks may be procured for a small sum, which is handy for oysters, clams, etc..So that much of the youths' living might be obtained therefrom- Salt hay eno' for a large Stock and all the barrens of the Island for their range in summer- if nothing shall turn up and there should be any thought of fixing the school near your parts, will it not be worth while to look after that land....[2]

Hebron, Connecticut, five miles away, desired the school, with a contribution of £ 1000 lawful money.[3]

Several sites were proposed including the town of Landaff, "a grant six miles square at Cohos,[4] for the school and for some settlers. This was actually made by Governor Wentworth but when the school was moved in 1770 it was located at its present site in Hanover, New Hampshire. The Landaff

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[1] Richardson, op. cit., p. 93-97
[2] Op. cit., p. 217-221
[3] Op. cit., p. 273
[4] Op. cit., p. 202 and elsewhere

site was later awarded to other claimants. The privilege of incorporation was an inducement which led Dr. Wheelock to locate at Hanover.

Samson Occom's Account of England Samson Occom's Diary is unfortunately not extant for the whole period when he was in England. It abruptly ceases July 22, 1766.[1] He visited with Tower, saw the King's Menagerie and other sights - was innoculated with success - was mimicked by the stage players which he took well. "I never thought to come to that Honour".[2] He was well-received and sent good gifts to his wife and family, including books from the King - he seems not to have been spoiled, as Wheelock feared who seems to have overdone his advice towards humility.

Return of Samson Occom In return he arrived in Boston on the twentieth of May, 1768, on Captain Robert Calef's ship: LONDON PACKET, after a stormy passage of eight weeks. Recovering from illness, he hardly waited for congratulations but next morning got on horseback and soon was at Mohegan at home.

It is hard to write the story of the founding of Dartmoth without animadverting on the fate of Occom at his return from abroad. He found conditions amiss with his support cut off, unless he should, as Wheelock desired, harvest further pastures. Wheelock wrote to Whitefield:[3]

He is averse to seek any settlement more convenient for future usefulness than

[1] Richardson, op. cit., pp. 81-87
[2] Op. cit., p. 85
[3] Love, op. cit., p. 155

at Mohegan - he consents to take a tour into the wilderness this season. What he will do for future support I can't tell - There is no probability that the Boston Commissioners will do anything for him.

The sum of the matter was therefor, that Samsom Occom at a time when he had most reason to expect some consideration on account of his services was stranded at Mohegan. He had left every other employment to obey his patrons, and having been used to advantages, he was discharged. So the Indian viewed the situation. Whitefield had told him,[1] "They had made him a tool to collect monies for them in England, but when he got to America they would set him adrift". It is unnecessary to say that Doctor Wheelock had no such intention. He thought for some time that Occom had an annual pension from England. This was not the fact...When the trustees in England learned how matters stood, they openly declared that Occom had been ill-treated. In 1772 they wrote him to draw for fifty pounds at once and for twenty-five pounds every six months or for fifty pounds annually during their pleasure. The Scotch Society also made him a grant.....

His family's fate in his absence Put on other more serious grounds, he had cause to complain. His family wittingly or not, had suffered from neglect in his absence. He wrote, February 10, 1767, to Eleazer Wheelock,[2]

> It has been my Lot for a long time to have Sorrow of Heart, I have had Burden upon Burden, Trial upon Trial,

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., p. 270
[2]Op. cit., pp. 221-223

Both without and within, far and near, a General Concern is Riveted in my Heart for my poor Brethren according to the Flesh, Both for their Bodies and Souls;...Every obstruction to your School, and every Misconduct and behavior of your Indian scholars touches me to the quick; More than all these, the Consideration of my poor family, as it were, lets my very Hearts Blood; I am ready to say, I am a cruel Husband and Father, God has given me a large family but they have no enjoyment of me, nor I them for some years back, and the whole burden and care of a large family of children lies upon my poor wife; What adds to my Sorrowful Heart is this, that whilest I am a teacher to others, I have neglected my own children, by my peregrinations and now my own Children are growing up, and are growing wild, and the Devil has been angry, yea he has & is devilish mad with me, and if he can he will drag all my children into all manners sin and down to Hell; but blessed by God he has provided an almighty Saviour; and all my Hope is in Him for myself and family...I am glad and thankful that you have taken my wild son if you can make maything of him I shall be happy in him. If he inclines to book learning, give him good English education, but if not let him go to some good master, to learn joiner's trade, if he inclines to that and if that wont do, send him over to me and I will give him away to some gentleman here - I return hearty thanks for the care you have taken of my family...

He had received a mourneful letter from his wife. Two brief letter from May Occom, his wife, are of interest in this connection. They are in order of date:

Rev. Sr Mohegan, Nov. ye 8th, 1766

would inform you that my son Aaron behaves himself so bad that I cannt keep him, and I take this opportunity to send him to Mr. Wheelock for to use him as you think best, he is trying to get Married to a Very bad Girl, he has Made one attempt to Run off with her, but was Disappointed, and he is out from home Night and Day - half his time, and trys to run me in debt by Forging orders &c. But being in haste cannot write So much as I would, but the bearer hereof Squib is an Honest man & will Speake the truth, and he can relate the Whole. My duty to Yourself and Madam and love to all your Family.

Sr I am your most obedient and very humble Servt
Mary Occom.[1]

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., p. 182

Mohegan, July ye 15th 1767

Revd Sir

these may inform you that I am out of Corn and have no Money to by any with, and am afraid we Shall suffer for want; and Sr if you will be pleased to help me in my distress, Either by Sending some Money or by Any other ways that I have it I shall take it as a great favor, be pleased to except of my kind love to your Self and Madam and to all your Family Sr I am Your Most obedient and very humble servt

Mary Occom

P S I sent to Mr. Breed for corn and he could not let me have any.[1]

Samson Occom after his return On his return from abroad, it was Dr. Wheelock's plan that Samson Occom should engage in a mission to the Iroquois. Interested friends relieved his wants and he remained useful in and about Mohegan. On July first (1769) he wrote Eleazer Wheelock,[2]

I have nothing to carry me up into the Wilderness neither money nor horse & I have nothing to leave with my Family to live on - and I have got a lame shoulder besides, it broke since I was at your House, I have been riding to several places of Indians lately and I find riding hurts my shoulder more than any exercise which discourages me not a little.

On at least one occasion Samson Occom relapsed into intemperance, but it is on record that however some have magnified his fall, on one occasion he was exonerated and it may be supposed that the other one or two similar cases were similar in nature. The complete story of his exoneration is quoted by W. DeLoss Love from the records of the Suffolk Presbytery, and to vindicate the man, follows:[3]

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., p. 279
[2]Op. cit., p. 353
[3]Love, op, cit., pp. 163-164

In the Presbytery of Suffolk at Easthampton, April 12, 1769... The Presbytery received a Letter from Mr. Occom in which he accuses himself of having been guilty of intemperate drinking, for which he very highly condemns himself; and that at the same Time understood that a Report had become Publich. The Presbytery entered upon Consideration of the Matter, and from the best Light they can now obtain are of the Opinion that said Accusation arises from a very gloomy and desponding Frame of Mind, under which they are informed that Mr. Occom has, for some time Past laboured; and do therefore refer the further Consideration of this Matter to our next session of Presbytery, desiring Mr. Buell in the Mean Time to obtain all possible Intelligence with respect to sd. Affair & make report thereof at our next Session.

In the Presbytery of Suffolk at Bridge Hampton, November 1, 1769...
The Presbytery next entered upon the Consideration of Mr. Occom's Affair, which on reading the Minutes of last session of Presbytery, we find referred to this. Mr. Occom being now present was very particularly examined by the Presbytery with respect to all the Circumstances of sd. Affair, and Mr. Buell having reported to the Presbytery the Intelligence he had obtained relating thereto. The Presbytery are fully of Opinion that all the Sensations of Intoxication, which he condemned himself for arose, not from any Degree in intemperate drinking, but from having Drank a small Quantity of Spiritous Liquor after having been all day without food.

Indians crowded out of the School Samson Occom very bitterly criticized the crowding out of Indian pupils at the School. It seems to have been brought about by the comparative excellence of the instruction. The description of the school in 1764 by Mr. John Smith follows:[1]

I reached his (Mr. Wheelock's) house a little before the evening sacrifice, and was movingly touched on giving out the psalm to hear an Indian youth set the time, and the others following him and singing the tenor and bass with remarkable gravity and seriousness; and though Mr. Wheelock, the schoolmaster and a minister from our Province (called as I was, by curiosity) joined in Praise, yet they, unmoved, seemed to have nothing to do but to sing to the Glory of God. I omit Mr. Wheelock's prayer, and pass to the Indians; in the morning when on ringing the schoolhouse bell they assemble at Mr. Wheelock's house about five o'clock with their master, who

[1]Love, op. cit., pp. 79-81

names the chapter in course for the day, and called upon the nearest Indian, who read three or four verses, till the master said, "Proximus", and then the next Indian read some verses, and so on till all the Indians had read the whole chapter. After this, Mr. Wheelock prays and then each Indian parses a verse or two of the chapter they had read. After this they entered successively on Prosodia, and then on Disputations on some questions propounded by themselves in some of the Arts and Sciences. And it is really charming to see Indian youths of different tribes and languages in pure English reading the word of God and speaking with exactness and accuracy on points (either chosen by themselves or given out to them) in the several arts and sciences; and especially to see this done with at least a seeming mixture of obedience to God, a filial love and reverence to Mr. Wheelock, and yet with great ambition to excel each other. And indeed in this morning's exercises I saw a youth degraded one lower in the class who before the exercises were finished not only recovered his own place but was advanced two higher. I learnt that my surprise was common to ministers, and other persons of literature who before me had been to visit this school, or rather College, for I doubt whether in colleges in general a better education is to be expected; and in mentioning this to a gentleman in this town who had visited this Seminary, he acquainted that he intended at his own charge to send his son to obtain his education in mixture with these Indians. There were 4 or 5 of these Indians, from 21 to 24 years of age, who did not mix with the youth in these exercises; these I learnt were perfected in their literature, and stand ready to be sent among the Indians to keep schools and occasionally to preach as doors open. On my return, Mr. Wheelock accompanied me a few miles; and on passing by one house, he said, here lives one of my Indian girls, who was, I hope, converted last week; and calling to the farmer, he, unperceived, brought the young girl into our sight; and the pleasure was exquisite to see the savageness of an Indian moulded into the sweetness of the follower of the Lamb.

David Maccluer wrote Wheelock on May 21, 1770:[1]

In a conversation Sir Avery and I had with Mr. Occom this Vacancy at Mohegan. After Mr. Occom had made to me Enquiry concerning the state of the School of which he seemed to be pretty ignorant, he informed us that he had been desirous and still was to write to his friends in England & particularly to some of the Gentlemen of the Trust - and the only reason for his not writing was because if he wrote he must not be silent concerning the state of the school as friends there would expect

[1]Richardson, op. cit., pp. 354-355

that from him if he wrote and as the School at present constituted he imagined that an account of it would not..answer their expections. He complained, but in a friendly manner, that the Indian was converted into an English school and that the English had crowded out the Indian youths - he instanced in one Symonds, a likely Indian who came to get admittance but could not be admitted because the school was full. He supposed that Gentlemen in England thought the school at present was made up chiefly of Indian youth & that should he write and inform them to the contrary as he must if he wrote it would give them a disgust and jealousy that the charities were not applied in a way agreeable to the Intentions of the donors and benefactors which was to educate Indians chiefly. I told him the doctor, I was pretty certain, was ready to admit any likely promising Indians and to fit them for Schoolmasters, Farmers, or Mechanics that the Indians he had already educated in general made so poor improvement in their learning that the Doctor, I imagined, was in a sense discouraged in fitting them for any higher Character...and that such being the case with the Indian youth, it would be more agreeable to the benefactors to the School to have their charity improved in a way more advantageous to the Indian cause viz. by educating English youth for that purpose.

The funds The funds, once a delicate point, were governed by a deed of trust drawn up May 31, 1768, setting up an English trust with authority over the funds raised in England, which trust consisted of nine members headed by the Right Honorable William, Earl of Dartmouth; and in America, a board consisting of Doctor Wheelock and seven others who were responsible for the College. It was Wheelock's own plan to leave the principal of the fund intact, except in emergency (Letter 29th June 1767 to Robert Keene). The next year one Samuel Savage (the same who sent Wheelock privately one hundred pounds when the English bequest was exhausted) wrote (March 5, 1768), urging him not to save it for the next generation. By 1774, anyway,

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[1]Richardson, op. cit., pp. 354-355

the fund was exhausted, leaving the English Trust nothing more to do. The Scotch were more canny, or for some other reason their funds were not required. Practically none of the principal was received by the elder Wheelock, and in 1920 the Scotch Society were still in possession of it, amounting to over £ 10,000 in 1920.

In 1770 there were but three Indian students[1]; there were some extenuating circumstances, including the movement of the School to New Hampshire in that year. In 1774-1775 he had fifteen or twenty, mostly from Canadian tribes. Daniel Simonds was eventually received, thus proving the second New England Indian to receive a college degree, in the class of 1777.

Wheelock wrote in 1772 reiterating that Dartmouth was primarily designed for the benefit of the Indians; but on June 1, 1773, Occom reiterated his complaints. He wished to hear from Wheelock, but the latter did not write; he desired to visit Hanover but had received no invitation; he expected to see his former patron when the latter recently visited Norwich but he was passed by. He again maintained his objection to the college; he asserted that the Indians were getting no benefit from the English money, and he recommended that the school should relapse to Wheelock's original plan.

On July 21st, Wheelock asserted that he had always been Occom's best friend and that the pension which the Indian was

[1]Richardson, op. cit., Note, pp. 353-356.

receiving was awarded principally as the result of his efforts. He complained, however, that his friendly conduct had been rewarded by enmity; and finally that he would be glad to see Occom in Hanover if the latter would appear in a friendly state of mind. This was the last interchange of letters between the two men.

Fate of the Indian School "The Indian school was continued as a separate institution under the name of Moor's Indian Charity School, which led a corporate existence until 1913."[1] At that time a sum of $8000 not derived from the English funds "turned over to the College Treasurer for the benefit of American Indians who qualified to carry on a Dartmouth course." At the laying of the cornerstone of the new Dartmouth Hall, replacing a building destroyed by fire the same year in 1904, the sixth Earl of Dartmouth laid the cornerstone, and in the tableaux, Samson Occom was represented by Ohiyesa (Charles A. Eastman), a Dakota, who was the last Indian to graduate at Dartmouth up to that time. Others have graduated since.[2]

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[1]Forbes, Other Indian Events, op. cit., p. 55
[2]Richardson, op. cit., pp. 55-56

CHAPTER VII : EDUCATION AFTER KING PHILIP'S WAR

After King Philip's War the history of the Indians of New England fades into obscurity. True there is much information, but it is often of a sketchy nature; hard to find, and hard to interpret. Few nations preserved any measure of independence. There was a Queen of Massachuset at the time of the Revolution. Most historians do not take time to comment upon this insignificant fact. With one unimportant exception there was no rising after King Philip's War, that was not instigated by the French. True a body of former hostiles hung on the frontier for a great many years finally to become reconciled to the English, or to take refuge in Canada. Those who remained in the Wampanoag country became rapidly converted to Christianity. The reason why our next-door neighbor is not an Indian; in other words, the story of the disappearance of the Indian from New England is a story worthy of attention, but for which we have no space. The French in their wars won the support of the Algonquin tribes generally against the Iroquois and the English. The Indians who remained in New England generally, however, fought for the English.

The War brought to naught Daniel Gookin's plan for a central English school; and led to the destruction of many books in the Indian language; the resources of the Indian praying towns so dearly accumulated were laid waste; the communion set of the Indian Church at Hassanameset was pil-

fered by colonial soldiers, as Gookin tells us; this was only a sample. The Mohawks had taken the warpath for the English. They remembered past injuries. The land was unsettled and it was some years before all the Praying Indians were safe at home; in fact the weaker bands never were restored to their possessions.

Let us consider them tribe by tribe.

First Nantucket We learn from an account-book of Samuel Sewall's[1] that an Indian teacher at Nantucket named John Philip was paid on July 12, 1712 a salary of seven pounds and ten shillings. A ream of paper and a parcel of books was furnished "the ministers and the schoolmaster (note the singular) at Nantucket", on November 24, 1713. On April 4, 1718 we find mentioned one Jonas Aososit (Hasaway) who previously taught at Gay Head, where his family probably belonged. From the size of his salary, he may have not been there very long. Likewise, in June 1719, one Japheth Aquas was paid only two pounds. Our chief information on Nantucket is in a letter written by Zaccheus Macy in 1792 to the Massachusetts Historical Society.[2] He tells us that in the Southeastern part of the Island, Old Aesop, the weaver was a schoolmaster.

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[1]George Parker Winship, Samuel Sewall and the New England Corporation pp. 78-110 in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society October 1941 - May 1944 (this was read Oct. 1942) Boston 1945

[2]Zacceus Macy, Letter, reprinted in Starbuck, Alexander History of Nantucket p. 122

"The most noted Indians in Autopscot's bounds (Western Nantucket, including both Wesco where the town of Nantucket is built, and Miacomet where was a large Indian settlement with a church and a cemetery) were Benjamin Tashama, a minister of the gospel, and a schoolmaster to teach the children to read and write. He was grandson to the old Sachem."

A portion of the industrious life of Tasima (says the author of Miriam Coffin) had been devoted to study; and he had succeeded with infinite labor, in adapting his literary acquirements to the language and capacity of his tribe.[1] He had nourished the vain hope of preserving the nation without a cross in its blood, and the language of his people in its pristine purity. It was a magnificent conception! The design was worthy of the last, as he was the greatest chief of his tribe. He was the last because none succeeded him; he was the greatest for he was the most benevolent.

While few details of his life are known, it is attested that he latterly lived on the eastern boundary of Gibbs Swamp about forty rods northeast of the fifth milestone on the 'sconset Road (in the Southeastern part of the Island). Here some years ago the cellar of his dwelling still remained, and the large stone which formed the entrance may now be seen in the rooms of the Nantucket Historical Association. He died in 1770, having survived the virulent epidemic that in 1764 wiped out two-thirds of his people. His grand-daughter, often confused with her daughter, was long a domestic in the home of John Cartwright, and passed away in 1855, the last of her people of pure blood.

Rawson and Danforth in their tour of the Indian communi-

[1] If this means anything to the reader, it does not to the present writer.

ties in 1698 reported three schools upon the Island, but noted that they were then closed for lack of primers.[1]

Testimony as to aboriginal education on this island comes to us from an unexpected source. Saint John de Crevecoeur, a Frenchman born in 1735, who had served with Montcalm, became naturalized in New York in 1764. He spent some time in New England; and wrote glowing Letters from an American Farmer with the probable object of luring European settlers to America. A disporportionate amount of this book consists of letters from Nantucket. He writes of Eliot's books:[2]

> useful books which are still very common on the Island and are daily made use of by those Indians who are taught to read. The young Europeans learn it with the same facility as their own tongues; and ever after speak it both with ease and fluency ...I found very few books (among the White population) among these people who have very little time for reading; the Bible and a few school tracts, both in the Nattick (Massachuset) and English languages, constituted their most numerous libraries...

On Nope (Martha's Vineyard Island) it is to be presumed that there were still eight schools. Rawson and Danforth in their Itinerary of 1698 by inference reported six:

(1) Nashakammuck	in Chilmark containing	231 (persons)
(2) Ohkonkemme	in Tisbury	72
(3) Seconshqut	in Chilmark	35

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[1]Itinerary in Massachusetts Historical Collections Vol. 10 p. 129

[2]Everett Crosby, Nantucket In Print, p. 194 reprinting parts of the above about Nantucket.

(4) Gay Head (original name Aquinnah)	260 (at least)
(5) Sahchecontuckquet at Edgartown	136 - 25 families
(6) Chaubaqueduck about	138
which adds up to	872

Of Nashakammuck they remark: "Their children are well instructed, as we find by our examination of them in their catechisms." Of Gay Head: "We find that the Indians here as also may be affirmed of most of the Indians belonging to Martha's Vineyard (Chaubaqueduck excepted) are well instructed in reading; well-clothed and mostly in decent English apparel."[1]

The remarks of the missionary, Experience Mayhew in his Indian Converts (1727) are very pertinent:[2]

> The Indians...must be considered as a people in a measure destitute of those advantages of literature which the English and many other nations enjoy. They have at present no scholars among them; several that have been liberally educated, having by immature deaths been removed out of the World before they had an opportunity of being considerably serviceable in it: and though considerable numbers of the Indians have learned to read and write, yet they have mostly done this but after the rate that poor men among the English are wont to do: nor have our Indians the same advantages of books as our English: few of them being able to read and understand English books in any measure well. Moreover there be but few books comparatively yet published in the Indian tongue. For these reasons nothing may at present be expected of them that will look polite or accurate: nor can there be much published from any writings of their own which would be to my present purpose and entertaining to English readers.

Nevertheless, a few parts of his book were translated from Indian originals.

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[1]Rawson and Danforth, op. cit., pp. 131-2
[2]Experience Mayhew Indian Converts p. xxiii London 1727

He casually remarks (p. 234) "It is the custom of our Indian schoolmasters to pray with their scholars."

His sixteenth example, David Paul (p. 113) receives the following comment:

(He died at Nunpaug, probably equivelant to Sanchecontukquet, in 1718). He took great care that his children might not fail of being taught to read being himself sensible of the inconveniency of being without such learning; and though he was under a great disadvantage as living far from any school, in which they might be instructed, yet he was so set on their learning as for some time to get them boarded at a house near the school, to which he desired to send them. And which is yet more, there being no school in the place the year before he died, he was himself at the charge of hiring for several months a young man who was then candidate for the ministry among the Indians on purpose to teach his children to read and instruct them in their catechisms; by which means they received great advantages.

His next example, Jacob Sockakonnit (who died at Nunpaug 1721) "did also much encourage the upholding of a school in the place and endeavored to persuade the people to send their children to it."

One interesting individual was a 'Spanish Indian',[1] brought as a slave from the Spanish possessions, known as James Spaniard who died at Chilmark in 1721,

though not being a compleat master of either the English or Indian tongue he could not express himself very aptly in either the one or the other of them: but the English he seemed to understand best.

The first local Indian who was "not able to speak Indian anything well"[2] was one Tobit, or Tobit Potter, who died at Christiantown at the age of thirteen, having been put to live

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[1]Experience Mayhew, Indian Converts pp. 120-122 printed for Samuel Gerrish London 1727
[2]Op. cit. pp. 257-261

(in 1718 when he was nine) with an English family of Tisbury.

Two other interesting examples were from Christiantown (Ex. xxx p. 212) Rachel Wompanummoo who died there in 1724 who learned to read English and was suspected of witchcraft; and (ex. xviii) Hannah Soopasun (who died there in 1723) "the school failing which she was sent to, her parents put her to an English master and mistress."

We have several names of Indian schoolmasters of the Island, including Jonas Hassauit and Peter Chavin who were at Gay Head in 1702.[1]

Samuel Sewall visited Gay Head on April 7, 1714:[2]

> I enquired if any could read English: proclamation was made. At last only two young men were produced. I set them to read my psalm-book with red covers; and then gave it him. Promised a testament to the second.

He mentions Job Soumauau, schoolmaster of Christiantown (Manit-wutootan, God's Town).

One Philip Metack, who escaped from the French in the Wars, made his mark in a petition dated December 29, 1758.

The Indian Primer of 1747, the last publication we see in the language, was doubtless in the Martha's Vineyard dialect, and the work of Experience Mayhew.

On Cape Cod On Cape Cod, although a locality less isolated, we may imagine a similar course of events. Many of the names of schoolmasters have not come down to us.

[1] Banks, Scrapbook of Documents Relating to Gay Head
[2] Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard vol. 2 Annals of Gay Head p. 26

Manomet The first canton, or band, on Cape Cod beginning at the north and west, was Manomet, of which the Herringpond Indians are a remnant. Doubtless to them Rawson and Danforth referred:[1]

> Thomas Tupper, an Englishman, preaches every sabbath day. ..They are in number 348 persons, men, women and children, generally well clothed...At Plymouth viz. at Kitteaumut of Moniment ponds...here we have ten families...Esther, John Wauno's wife has sometime been improved here as a schooldame; and is willing still to be useful that way.

In 1709, as we learn from the Sewall Accounts,[2] Jacob Hedge was a teacher at Monument Ponds. Hedges Pond, at the Herring Pond territory, takes its name from one of his family, probably Will Hedge or Webaquequan who is mentioned in the Book of Indian Records for their Lands pages 226-6, edited by David Pulsifer, and printed with the first volume of Plymouth Colony Deeds by the State, Boston 1861.

We find no reference to Pocasset.

Elizabeth Islands Rawson and Danforth reported very fully on the Elizabeth Islands, which the Indians called Nashannow (whence we call the largest Naushon). All, except the smallest, are now known by Indian names. On the only house on Cuttyhunk was born Paul Cuffee.

At Major Winthrop's Island Mr. John Weeks an Englishman teaches them on the Sabbath. An Indian named Asa, chief ruler

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[1] Rawson and Danforth op. cit., pp. 132-3

[2] George Parker Winship Samuel Sewall and the New England Company in Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society October 1941 to May 1944 published by the Society Boston 1945

of them and a person well reported of, teaches them when Mr. Weeks cannot attend it. Here are about nine families, most of which can read well, are diligent in their callings and generally belong to the church whereof Japhet is pastor, at Martha's Vineyard. An Indian called Sampson attends their school every winter and hath the reputation for the most able among them for that service, taking pains in catechizing their children every week. Men, women and children are thirty persons in all. Half the Indian inhabitants of this island have died in a few years past. Three families living at Saconeset Point do attend to the meeting at Mr. Winthrop's Island.

At an island, called Slocum's Island we hear of seven families, most of which can read, being lately moved thither from the Vineyard and other places...[1]

This last island, we learn from Experience Mayhew's book was Cataymuck, now called Naushon. From Sewall's Accounts we learn that Nehemiah Abel taught in 1712; and Thomas Sampson from 1715 to 1719. On October 13, 1710 one Sampson Natusoo received a salary of three pounds for teaching at the Elizabeth Islands. A list of supplies furnished at that time is of interest: "Three pair of spectacles two cases two penknives, 6 hornbooks, one inkhorn, three quires of hold paper, six Indian primers, one Practice of Piety."

Mashpee Rawson and Danforth (1698) say:

At Mashpah belonging to Sandwich...in number 57 families in which are from ten years old and upwards 263 persons divers of whom have the character of very sober men..Here they want a schoolmaster.

Simon Popmonnet, son of Popmunnuck, the early Sachem was the second pastor of the church at Mashpee, succeeding Mr. Richard Bourne. A later pastor, Solomon Bryant (whom we think of Acushnet, near New Bedford), was also a native and always preached in Indian, continuing after the installation of the

[1]Rawson and Danforth op. cit., p. 131

missionary, Rev. Gideon Hawley in 1758.

Gideon Hawley, the Missionary wrote President Stiles of Yale on January 22, 1791:

> Simon (Pompmunnuck)...died about 1720 leaving three children...Isaac, Experience & Josiah...Josiah lived till last March when he died being about fourscore and five years. After I came to this mission he taught an Indian school in which service he continued until he was blind, which was the case many years before his death.[1]

The native education must have gradually petered out. In the report of a legal meeting at Mashpee, September 5, 1758, only one of six signers actually wrote his name, and that is not easily deciphered.[2]

Lower Cape At Yarmouth, one Ephraim Wampom taught in 1714 (Sewall Accounts).

> At Eastham (wrote Rawson and Danforth)[3,4] and Harwich, Eastharbor, Billingsgate and Monimoyare (as Mr. Treat informs us) 500 persons. At Potanummakut Thomas Coshaumag preacher and schoolmaster....Families 22.. Moses teaches school here.
> At Eastharbor and Billingsgate about 20 houses in some of which two families.
> At Monimoy in which 14 houses John Cosens preacher and schoolmaster.
> At Sahquatucket alias Harwich 14 families...many among them, almost every head of families are persons capable of reading scripture, as we are informed.

This last-named community seems to survive. When the writer attended school, one of his schoolmates was, by descent, of this community. Mr. Treat wrote Rev. Increase Mather:

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[1]Dexter, Stiles' Itinerary p. 499 New Haven 1916
[2]Massachusetts Archives vol. 33:69
[3]Rawson and Danforth op. cit. p. 133

They have four distinct assemblies in as many villages belonging to our township; with four teachers of their own choice who repair once a week to my house to be themselves further instructed pro modulo meo in the concernments proper for their service and station...There are besides four schoolmasters who teach their youth to read and write in their own language.

Wampanoag Tribe As stated above the Wampanoag Tribe became Christianized so rapidly that we have little record of the process. In consequence schools were set up, although we hear little of them. There were many small villages like that at Sampson's Pond in South Carver which probably had no schools of their own.

The only canton which by adhering to the English in King Philip's War preserved some of its independence was Sauconet (Little Compton, Rhode Island) where Rawson and Danforth found

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[4](note carried over from preceding page)
from Letter from John Freeman to Thomas Hinckley
Eastham 20 March 1684/5

From twelve years and upwards there be that frequent their meetings within the constablerick of Eastham (264) and Monomoy (115). But they complain in several places that they want teachers- as at Pamit, Billingsgate and Satucket and that they want wherewith to support their teachers. Sir I conclude here are the most Indians that are in any way civilized and inclining to anything that is good, that is in the country: and I fear they are shortened of what their portion is with others. Sir, it is evident to me that our English ministers go away with too great an allowance for the little service they do for them. It seems not to bear proportion for an Indian minister to have but three or four pound a year that is a constant teacher to them and an English teacher to have ten or fifteen or twenty pounds a year that preaches not above three or four times in the year to them and spends not above half an hour in preaching at a time.

Hinckley Papers pp. 131-2

two plantations...the first...at Saconet; Samuel Church, alias Sohchawahham has for more than one year past endeavored their instruction and is best capable of any in that place to perform that service; he ordinarily has 40 auditors, many times more..divers here are well instructed in their catechisms, and above ten can read the Bible....

At Cokesit Daniel Hinkley hath taught here four years; twice each sabbath; eleven families are his auditors...most of the men here can read; and many young ones (of whom we had an instance) can say their catechism...A person called Aham is schoolmaster here, and we are informed, performs his work well...the two forementioned teachers...were very handsomely clothed in English apparel.

There were two teachers at Little Compton as late as 1711 (Sewall Accounts).

What we for convenience call the Acushnet canton near New Bedford was also populous. Rawson and Danforth reported:

At Dartmouth we found two assemblies of Indians...at Nukkehkummees...here are many that can read well (at least 120 persons)...almost all their children can read. Jonathan hath been their schoolmaster but ceases now for want of encouragement. We propose his continuance as a person fitted for the employment...

At Acushnet John Bryant their teacher for five of six years past. Here are 14 families..They are generally well clothed, diligent laborers but for want of schooling their children are not so well instructed as at other places; though they earnestly desire a remedy.

There was an Indian teacher at Dartmouth as late as 1718 (Sewall Accounts). Probably this area today has the largest Indian population of any in the State (Although the 1940 Census figures do not bear out this view.)

The Pocassets were missed entirely at this time, possibly because they had no common, or convenient home. On September 28th, 1706 they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts Bay to exchange their land because:[1]

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[1]Massachusetts Archives 31:15

We can by no means live upon it to make any improvement to answer the end proposed; that is to enjoy the publick worship of Almighty God, nor to keep a schoole to have our children taught in the winter time.

In exchange they obtained their present reservation at Indiantown, Fall River. A church was later built which was standing after the Revolution, and was associated with the first Congregational (White) Church of the town.

One "Tobias Sampson was what was called a praying Indian and used to preach at this house in what was then South Freetown, but now East Fall River (Why so many names when Indiantown was meant?); by which his house acquired the name of "The Indian College" - or at least such is the tradition."[1] He died before 1764.

His neice, Hope Quam "taught school at what is called Indian Town in Fall River...(Tradition)"[1]

Of the Assowampset canton in present Lakeville, which is likewise the site of an Indian reservation although untenanted, Rawson and Danforth report:

At Assawampsit and Quittacus are twenty houses containing 80 persons. John Hiacomes (of Martha's Vineyard. A man of this family, we suppose, still teaches at Mashpee) preacher and constant schoolmaster.

From the Sewall Accounts we learn that John Hiacoomes was here as late as 1718.

Massachuset Tribe The Massachuset had survived the war on the islands of Boston and Plymouth harbors. After the War

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[1]Ebenezer Pierce, Indian Biography and Genealogy p. 212, North Abington 1878

they were much dispersed, often returning to the villages whence they had been gathered into praying towns. This dispersion, together with the disappearance must have made their educational prospects very discouraging. Okomakamesit (Marlboro) and Magunkoog (Hopkinton) were never established on a permanent basis.

Rawson and Danforth (1698) reported on Natick:

At Natick we find a small church of seven men and three women. Their pastor (ordained by that reverend and holy man of God, Mr. John Eliot, deceased) is Daniel Takawombpait, and is a person of good knowledge. Here are fifty-nine men and fifty-one women, and seventy children under sixteen years of age. We find no schoolmaster here, and but one child can read.

The first of the records of the town of Natick are in Indian. In 1721 there were but two White families in Natick; in 1733 we find the first White town officers; after 1745 we find none who were Indian and it was a White, and not an Indian town.[1]

Douglass wrote:[2]

(p. 189) The Indian plantation of Natick, with a minister and salary from an English Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England; he officiates in English, and his congregation are mostly English; it lieth about eighteen miles west from Boston, not exceeding 20 families of Indians (1745). He also remarks (p. 172)"Of the Naticks at present there are not twenty families subsisting, and scarce any of these can read..."

It is evident, however that their numbers were somewhat greater than Douglass thought, for a list made in 1749 accounted for 166. Judging from signatures to petitions, etc.

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[1]While this is true of the town government, the Indians were chosen as committee men of the Proprietors for some time after.
[2]William Douglass Summary etc. vol. 1 pp. 172-189 London 1755

their education, though not good, was much better than his description. From the Sewall Accounts we learn that one Thomas Waban, a descendant of the first convert was schoolmaster from 1708-1719.

Ponkapog (Stoughton) was a smaller town than Natick and we hear less of it. Rawson and Danforth forgot it altogether. Douglass (p. 189) "Puncapog Indians in the township of Stoughton, being three or four families." The fate of this group seems to be underestimated numerically. We hear nothing of a school, but one may be inferred from the existence of a meetinghouse.

Rawson and Danforth wrote of Titicut (1698)

At Kehtehticut are forty adults to whom Charles Aham preaches and teaches their children to read

There was also a church at Titicut. Joseph Joshnan was schoolmaster here from 1710 to 1718 (Sewall Accounts).

Rawson and Danforth report "a like number (four or five families) at Mattakeesit." - and - "near Duxbury Sawmills we hear of three or four families." Upon a copy of the Indian Bible at Memorial Hall in Plymouth we find some memoranda scribbled by the Indian owner, Josiah Attaunitt alias Josiah Ned, to whom it belonged 1715-1718.[1]

Josiah Attaunitt yeu wutaimun ...
i.e. Josiah Attaunitt it belongs to him

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[1]Trumbull, James Hammond The Indian Tongue and its Literature pp. 465-480 in Memorial History of Boston ed. Justin Winsor Osgood, Boston 1880 vol. 1

ut febnuany 7 tay 1715 ut ohquompi ut wekit
February 7 1715 at this time at the house of

Pammohkauwut noh pamontog ut Togspane
Pammohkauwut who lives at Duxbury

Fevuany bwi tay 20 tay 1715 ut wekit pamohkauwut ut tuspany
February Friday 20 day, 1715 in the house of Pamohkauwut at Duxbury

kah yeu wu tappin annis mommehthemmut unnoowan nuttom nasit
and here lodged. Annis Mommehthemmut said I am going to Nauset

saup.
tomorrow.

It may that because these towns were not visited, that they were underestimated. Stiles (Itinerary 1762 p. 165) estimated the Indian population of Pembroke (Mattakeset) and Scituate at 20 families (c. 80 persons) as late as 1762.

There was also a small settlement at Massaughtucket in what is now East Bridgewater but not much is known concerning it. One Caleb Brand was sent to school at Roxbury in 1707. He is usually associated with Bridgewater.

Maestic Tribe There were also some small communities of the Maestic group, but only that of Nashobah seems to have embraced Christianity or established schools. Its inhabitants seem to have left descendants in Natick. Among them was John Thomas, once reputed the oldest Indian in New England. He was the teacher at Nashobah.[1] There is an interesting reference to Nashobah in our last chapter in the Davis will.

Merrimac Tribe We suppose that the Merrimac or Pautucket town of Wamesit on the Merrimack River had a school at this

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[1]Probably a religious teacher.

time but have no details. Most of this tribe are supposed to have taken refuge in Canada, after their bloody revenge for Major Waldron's treacherous seizure of many of them as hostiles at the end of King Philip's War. Dr. Gilbert of the Library of Congress has it from Professor Frank G. Speck that a remnant of the Merrimack Tribe still survives in New Hampshire. If so we have no knowledge of them.

Nipmuck Tribe We hear little likewise of any systematic education among the Nipmucks except at Hassanameset. Rawson and Danforth remark "At Hassinamisco are 5 families unto whom James Printer stands related as teacher." In 1768, p. 262 President Ezra Stiles of Yale College gives a memorandum of October 19, 1736: "Indian families - 4 i.e. 4 men 5 women 6 boys 7 girls of which 4 baptized." Under 1764 he remarks: "Now not a male Indian in town & perhaps 5 squaws who marry Negroes." James Printer died by 1715.

In 1708 Samuel Quittecus taught at Kekamoochuck, which is now in Northeastern Connecticut.

CHAPTER VIII : EDUCATION AFTER THE REVOLUTION

A Period of Chaos

After the Revolution in most places it only remains to pick up the loose ends as the tribes and cantons of New England move into extinction or into absorption into the general body politic. At the beginning of this period died the aged Queen of Massachuset, which statement will amuse the reader who did not realize that she ever existed. At its end was the legislation of the year 1869 which enfranchised the few Indians remaining in the State.

In the year 1787 there was incorporated in Massachusetts the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America, which held its first meeting on December 7, 1787, and undertook the work of maintaining missions and schools among the scattering bands of New England, many of whom had no other support of the work. The State did not for some time assume any responsibility for the work, although it granted the Society to further its work the sum of $500 in 1796, and the grant was repeated. The Society's interests were not confined to Massachusetts, nor to Indians, although the Alford bequest of about $9000 which yielded about $540 annually was to be wholly spent on the Indians. The work of the Society in the New England area was sharply curtailed in 1843, although some of its activity there was later resumed.

First, Nantucket. The Report of the Select Committee of the Society for 1822 mentions a conditional grant to the Indians of Nantucket, and we learn that in that year they supported the work of one Rev. Joseph Lake among them. As the reader must be aware their numbers approached the vanishing point which came with the death of Dorcas Honorable, in 1855[1]. She was the granddaughter of Benjamin Tashima of whom we have spoken.

In the Report of the Select Committee for 1826, we are told:

> The Indian schools under the care and superintendence of Mr. Baylies continue in a prosperous state. Mr. Baylies taught a school at Nantucket four weeks and employed Mrs. Sally Thompson an Indian woman twelve weeks. In his school he had 49 Indians and three Whites; of the Indians, 23 were writers, 28 read in the Testament, 11 in the Spelling book, and 10 in the alphabet.
>
> The Rev. Mr. Bailey, of Nantucket in a letter to the Secretary gives a very favorable account of the success of Mr. Baylies' labors in "the improvement of the colored people in this place." "I have several times," he writes, "visited his school, and attended the examination of his pupils much to my satisfaction and his credit. Something handsome has been appropriated for the promotion of the same object from the school fund of this town; and I hope further aid will be afforded from the same source." Mr. Bailey bears also a high testimony to the useful labors of Mr. Wilson Rawson, deacon of the first Congregational Church "who, by his repeated patient and long continued exertions judiciously applied, has done much to prepare the way for your missionary, and to improve their morals and to instruct their minds. He attended a sabbath school among them for several years and has taught some to read the scriptures.

It was probably true, as implied, that some of these Indians were Negroes. How long this school functioned, does

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[1] R.A. Douglas-Lithgow, Nantucket, a History , p. 53, Putnam, New York 1914.

not appear, but it certainly lasted until 1826, if not afterwards.

Next, Martha's Vineyard. The following highlights from the report rendered the State Legislature on the condition of the Indians of the State in 1827 are relevant:

> The whole number of Indians and descendants of Indians in this Commonwealth as nearly as they can be ascertained without an actual enumeration is about one thousand...
>
> But the existing Aborigines to whom the attention of your committee was chiefly directed, are those who reside on the Islands of Chappequiddie, and Martha's Vineyard, and on the opposite Main, all of whom were formerly known in our history and legislation as the South Sea Indians; and although their condition is sufficiently unhappy, still it is so much superior to that of the erratic and destitute individuals which exist in other parts of the Commonwealth that it is a relief to your committee to turn their contemplation towards them. Your committee have visited the Marshpee and Herringpond tribes in the counties of Barnstable and Plymouth on the Main; and the Gayhead, Christiantown, and Chappequiddie Indians on the Island of Martha's Vineyard, and two small settlements at Formneck and Deep Bottom in the same island...
>
> In each of the tribes, which we visited, viz. Marshpee, Gayhead, Christiantown and Chappequiddie, schools are taught from three to five months in a year, chiefly at the expense of The Society for the Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others, in North America, under the general superintendence, partly under the instruction of their missionary, the Reverend Frederick Baylies. From the specimens of proficiency, which your committee had an opportunity to observe in reading, writing and orthography, they are of opinion that the different branches of a common school education are taught with fidelity and success among the Indian youths of the above tribes...At Gayhead in addition to a term of twelve weeks during which a school was kept in the year 1826 by Mr. Baylies of the Society, the Indians themselves provided for eight weeks more and employed an Indian man for their teacher.

We learn, incidentally, that the medium of instruction was wholly English. Indeed, the Committee had difficulty finding anyone who could speak the native tongue.

The name of Esther Taconet appears in the records of the

Society for 1800, as employed upon the Vineyard[1].

An early traveler, Edward Augustus Kendall, who visited Gay Head about 1808[2], wrote:

The anabaptist church, which is of wood, is built on the brow of a steep hill; and beneath, against the hill, is an apartment of stone, called by no better name than the cellar, in which the keeper of the lighthouse, who is also a farmer and a schoolmaster, keeps an Indian school. The winter is the only part of the year in which it is kept; and then the schoolmaster has a journey of a mile, over the naked hills between his house and the school. Some of his scholars are remarkably apt; and the rest are not below the ordinary level.

In the printed reports of the Select Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others, in North America, we have many details of the schools at Gayhead, at Christiantown and at Chappaquiddic. Devens, quoted by Banks in his History of the Island of Martha's Vineyard[3], perhaps gives us our best summary of his work:

Rev. Frederick Baylies (of Taunton, Mass.) 1774-1836, missionary to the Indians. Of him a contemporary visitor records the following opinion: He was a true-hearted man and highly useful in the sphere allotted to him. He labored diligently among them for some twenty-five years. The first time I visited the Island he was hale and vigorous, devoted to his work and much interested in the furtherance of liberal views of Christianity. His salary was about $550, a portion of which he expended for the support of teachers among the Indians on the Vineyard, Nantucket and Cape Cod. Under his instructions and preaching the Indians have a good deal improved.

In the Report of the Select Committee of the Society for

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[1] The Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America 1787-1887, p. 40, printed for the Society by the University Press 1887.
[2] Edward Augustus Kendall, Travels in the Northern Parts of the United States, vol. 2, p. 197 New York 1809.
[3] Devens: Sketches of Martha's Vineyard, p. 28. Quoted in Charles E. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard vol. 1, p. 256. Boston 1911.

1826, he observed in his journal, there quoted:

To do justice, I must say the schools continue to flourish as usual; the scholars are easily governed, and strive to learn; the parents appear to be gratified and are grateful. Our meetings on the sabbath are well attended about as well as usual, full as well as could be expected under every circumstance. The books I have distributed, as formerly, in the schools, and where I considered it my duty to give them. To conclude, when I take a retrospect of my labor, I am astonished at my success. It is not by my power, strength or wisdom, but it is the Lord who hath done it.

It is only proper to let Mrs. Vanderhoop[1] tell the story of Gay Head education in her own way:

As the natives readily learned to speak English and as there was a strong tendency to let the Indian language disappear (as evidenced by the fact that Mr. Experience Mayhew translated into English all papers worthy of remembrance) it is no wonder that Indian words are now so few. Perhaps they were afraid of drifting into a confusion of tongues.

He (Frederic Baylies) taught only a short summer term but the school was well attended. He was considered a good teacher for his time and was strict in his ways. When one girl struck another in the eye with a piece of coal he spent much time in bringing the culprit to see the error of her ways. Though this pedagogue occupied three chairs and spent much of his time in sleeping still he managed to draw the money. All this was about 1818 or just prior thereto.

It is likely that in his later years, when memory of him would be most fresh, the vigor and enthusiasm of the young man had become somewhat tempered. Certainly, even in the brief excerpt of his journal quoted above, a note of apology had crept in.

In 1822 he made the following enumeration of the Indians

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[1]Mrs. Vanderhoop History and Traditions of the Gay Head Indians in the New Bedford Standard- 1904, clippings in Banks bound volume Documents on the History of Gay Head in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

of the Island under his care:

Gay Head contains	244	inhabitants
Christiantown	44	
Deep Bottom	10	
Farm Neck	16	
Chabaquiddick	91	
Total	405	

Next, Cape Cod. Although there were other remnants than these two, there seem to have been no schools provided them at Mashpee and Herring Pond.

Of Mashpee, William Apes can say[1]:

Much was also said about the pains that had been taken to educate the Marshpees, and it was averred, that instead of going to the schools opened for them, they prefered going about the country picking berries and basket making. Mr. Crocker (identified as the agent of the plantation for the sale of wood) said he had been at great pains to induce the Indians to go to school. Let him who has been prejudiced against the Marshpees by such argument, look at the legislative act of 1789 section 5 for the regulation of the plantation, prohibiting the instruction of the Marshpees, in reading and writing, under pain of death. Who, then, dared to teach them.[2]

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[1]William Apes, Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts relative to The Marshpee Tribe, or the Pretended Riot Explained PUBLISHED by William Apes, Boston 1835. pp. 38-44.

[2]It has lately been quoted in an article written at Marshpee for local consumption. Curious to locate this reference the present writer has been unable to verify it. The author has been so explicit as to chapter and verse it is unlikely that he intentionally deceived his readers. Some of the files relative to Mashpee have been defective (Argument of Benjamin Hallett, Counsel for the Memorialists of the Marshpee Tribe, page 9) but the act cited is contrary to the general tenor of the legislation of the General Court, which could be callous but was not bloodthirsty. True at this time, rights specifically effected by King George III providing for self-government of the district were rescinded in no liberal fashion. Reverend Gideon Hawley had a hand in this, a step which he seems to have regretted.

That this was not the general tenor of the state legislation is shown in an Act (Laws and Resolves of Massachusetts 1788-1789: Resolves 1789 May Session pp. 536-538) Regarding their neighbors: (continued on next page)

Mr. Hawley, the former missionary, spent fifty or sixty years in Marshpee...What his care to educate the tribe was, may be judged from the fact that he did not teach one Indian to read during his residence among them, as I am informed by those who knew him. He had probably imbibed the opinion that the natives were incapable of being taught[1], and therefor spared himself the trouble that he thought would be of no use. Nevertheless he was willing to preach to them, and had a good portion of their land set off for his support. Truth obliges me to say that not one Indian was converted during the fifty years of his ministry....

Speaking on this subject[2], the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith (?) says that the arrangements for managing Indian schools were never thoroughly made; admirable as was the general plan, and much as it promised. I think I may safely vouch for the truth and honesty of the reverend gentleman's admission...

When the Marshpee children were put out to service, it was with the express understanding, as their parents agree, that they should not be schooled...

To begin- the Indians owe nothing to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, or to the inhabitants of New England generally for religious instruction excepting a single appropriation of four hundred dollars made in 1816 or 1818 for repairing their meeting house. Four hundred dollars were appropriated in 1831 for the purpose of erecting two schoolhouses; but not one cent for a teacher.[3]

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[2](cont. from prec. pg.) Resolved on the petition of the Herring Pond Tribe of Indians And it is further Resolved- That the said overseers shall keep a fair, regular and separate account of all their transactions and of all the rents and profits arising from the lands, tenements and other property which they may receive belonging to said Herring Pond tribe or any of them and shall distribute to them their respective rights, dues or shares after deducting...for the continuance and support of religious instruction among them and the schooling of their children.

[1]Freeman, History of Capecod, vol. 1 p. 693. Quotes a letter of Reverend Gideon Hawley's in which the worthy man quotes an Indian "Tucks will be tucks, though old hen he hatch'em." Reverend William Apes can hardly have known of this letter, but it seems to have illustrated his views perfectly.

[2]Who this man was, the present writer admits his ignorance. No reader will, however, disagree with his remarks.

[3]These are the amounts spent on Education by the Plantation of Mashpee under the overseers, taken from the Report of Commissioner Fiske (Senate Document # 14, 1834 page 35). We have preferred to take these sums from a source unfavorable to the Indians.

1824	-	$24.95	1827	-	$64.86	1830	-	$31.75
1825	-	44.20	1828	-	71.88	1831	-	70.09
1826	-	4.56	1829	-	101.97	1832	-	126.47

The way the Marshpees have supported a school hitherto, has been this. Some of them have lived abroad among the Whites, and have learned to read and write. with perhaps a small smattering of Arithmetic. On returning to the tribe, they have taught others what they knew themselves; receiving pay from those who had the means, and teaching the rest gratuitously.[1]

Kendall gives us five pages of text and seventy-seven pages of digression upon Herring Pond but not one word about its education.

From the note to the preceding section (on Mashpee) we note that in 1789 the Overseers were authorized to provide for local education but whatever they did seems not to have been sufficient, for in 1818 they petitioned "that their children may no longer be kept in heathenish ignorance."[2]

The Lower Cape. There is one sidelight regarding the Indians of the further Cape. We are told that on December 4, 1783, one Hannah Jolly, an Indian woman (probably of Potanumaquut, the Nauset settlement, or of nearby Sauquatucket which seems still to exist,) placed her son, Ichabod Jolly as servant to John Freeman..to learn to read the English Bible, write and cipher, etc.....to serve eleven years from the first day of September

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[1] Argument of Benjamin F. Hallett p. 28 "Previous to 1824 the schools were but little attended to; and the Report of the Commissioners in 1818 shows that up to this time they had been grossly neglected by the Overseers. The best informed men among the Indians have got their education off the plantation. In 1818 William Mingo complain that they have no schools and their children were left in heathenish ignorance.

[2] Argument of Benjamin F. Hallett p. 25

last."[1] One would suppose that notwithstanding the price, he had served at first gratuitously on trial.

Next, the Wampanoag Tribe on the Mainland. The Report of 1826 mentions 8 to 12 "at Watuper Pond in Dartmouth... called the Troy Indians", who "have likewise the advantage of Mr. Baylies' labors." This advantage would seem rather slight at such distance, but from records of them, which have been preserved, we know that they learned to read and write after a fashion.

The Report of the Select Committee for 1826 says (page 16) of Reverend Frederick Baylies: "At Dartmouth he taught two weeks, had 17 Indians and 8 Whites. Of the Indians 8 were writers, 5 read in the Testament; 6 in the Spelling Book; and six in the alphabet."

The State Report speaks of four to six Indians at Middleborough, by which he meant Assawompset, now Lakeville, a number at times increased to fifteen or twenty. Peirce says of Lydia Tuspaquin, fourth in descent from Massasoit (She must have been born C. 1735):

> She was drowned in Assowamset Pond, July 1812. She was born at what is still known as 'Betty's Neck', then in Middleborough, but now Lakeville..while Lydia was still young she went to live with Joanna Hunt who married a Mr. Moore and afterward resided in Petersham, Mass., Lydia accompanying them, they caring for her as if she had been their own child. Improving these opportunities, Lydia attended school and became quite a good scholar, and in after life became the chief amanuensis of her people residing at Betty's Neck.

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[1] J. Paine, History of Harwich, p. 440, Tuttle, Rutland, Vt., 1937.

We are told how Captain Cuffee established a school on the bank of Westport River for residents regardless of race.[1] He put his own son, Paul to school at a Quaker High School in William's Alley, in Philadelphia for two years 1809-1811[2], and was wise enough not to save him from the "school of hard knocks." Elsewhere it is evident that the Indian schools disappeared and it was some time before the Indians received proper educational facilities from the nearby White schools.

In regard to the Massachuset, they early lost their language completely without becoming for that better New Englanders. Reverend Stephen Badger in a letter upon their condition[3] in 1797, wrote:

> The number of church members is now reduced to two or three..Not any among them as retain the knowledge of the language of their progenitors so as to speak it. One aged woman, a church member, of good character, daughter of the good deacon mentioned before, has told me, she could understand it when spoken by others, but of this she has not lately had a trial...I suppose there are near twenty clear blooded that are now in this place and that belong to it.--Mr. Badger had been missionary over 25 years and his very inability to make exact statements is more eloquent than his words in its

[1] Henry Noble Sherwood, Paul Cuffe pp. 7-8 Washington 1923 originally printed in Journal of Negro History April 1923. "At the time of the purchase of the new farm (1797 on the shore of Westport River) the neighborhood was without educational facilities. There was neither schoolhouse nor tutor. The situation was displeasing to (Captain) Cuffe. He called a meeting of the neighbors and proposed that steps be taken for adequate educational equipment. So much difference of opinion resulted that no agreement could be reached at this initial meeting. Subsequent efforts were alike unsuccessful. At last Cuffe established a school and hired a teacher.

[2] Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Paul Cuffe, A Pequot Indian, during thirty years spent at Sea, and in Traveling in Foreign Lands by Paul Cuffe, Vernon (New York) 1839 printed by Horace N. Bill.

[3] Stephen Badger's Report (1797) in Collections of Massachusetts Historical Society volume 5 p. 32.

implications.

Report of 1849 In the Year 1849 there was a fuller report made to the legislature on the State of the Indians. To make our report more meaningful, we shall not hesitate to repeat data of general economic, if not purely educational importance. We return to Martha's Vineyard. Three settlements on the Island, only, are listed. Deep Bottom, which reappeared in the Report for 1861, cannot have had any peculiar educational opportunities.

Chappequiddic Tribe[1]: This tribe occupies a part of the small island of the same name being a part of Martha's Vineyard, and separated from Edgartown by a narrow arm of the Sea, which forms the harbor of that town. Their territory comprises 692 acres. It is on a bleak exposure and the soil is barren and yields a precarious subsistence to the most unremitting industry. The location appears to be remarkably healthy...The whole number of the tribe is 85. In 1828 the whole number of the tribe was 110...The Chappequiddics depend for subsistence entirely, with the exception of those who go to Sea, and some few women who go out to service, upon agriculture.

They are generally very industrious, securing by economy and hard labor a comfortable living and some few adding from year to year to their little property, generally in the way of improvements to their lands. A few realize considerable sums in the summer from the sale of blackberries to the people of Nantucket....Nearly all live in good framed houses, most of them confortably furnished, and many of them with their spare room handsomely carpeted and adorned with pictures and curiosities collected in the eastern and southern seas...

They have a school taught by a female, for three or four months each year. When we visited them, the school was closed so that we cannot speak particularly of its condition. They receive from the State about $46 annually, being $30 from the School Fund under the Act of April 18, 1848, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the income of $1200 of the Surplus Fund under the Act of March 2, 1837. This constitutes their whole means of support for the school, being really unable to increase the amount by voluntary subscription. The whole number between the ages of 4 and 16 is 15. With so small a school and such limited means their educational privileges must be of comparatively little value.

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[1]Report of 1849 pp. 6-12

Christiantown Tribe.[1] The territory of the Christiantown Indians lies on the northwest side of the Vineyard, bordering on the Vineyard Sound and comprises 340 acres. The soil is what farmers call hard and strong, difficult of cultivation but yielding to persevering industry, remunerating returns. The locality appears to be a healthy one; still a comparatively large number have recently died, and at the time of our visit, several were sick, of both chronic and acute diseases. The whole number of the tribe is 49...(nine were at sea). The pursuits of this tribe are agricultural with the exception of those who follow the Sia- A general remark may here be made, applicable to all the tribes, that those who go to sea are less thrifty and more improvident than those who depend upon agriculture for support. Their condition is very similiar to that of the Chappequiddics though behind them in intelligence, social condition and domestic comforts...They have no paupers and receive no aid from the State. They receive the same amount from the State for schools as the Chappequiddic Tribe, $46.

Occasionally an individual was found who writhed under the crushing weight of civil and social disability...a young man of twenty-two years, belonging to a family of nine children, six older than himself, all of whom had died in the pride of early manhood and womanhood, and one helpless and blind in consequence of ill treatment at sea. This young man had been one of the best seamen who sailed from the South Shore, and had risen to second mate; but had come home discouraged, disheartened, with ambition quenched and now feeds the moodiness of a crushed spirit by moping amid the graves of his kindred, soon, we fear to lie down with them...

We tried to awaken him to effort and enterprise but found it to be a hopeless task. Why should I try? he asked in bitterness. The prejudice against our color keeps us down. I may be a first rate navigator, and as good a seaman as ever walked a deck (and Mr. Thaxter assured us such was his reputation) but I am doomed to die before the mast. I might get to be second, first mate and when at sea I should be treated as such, because I deserved it; but the moment we fall in company with other vessels, or arrive in port and our captain invites other captains and mates to dine, I am banished from the cabin to the forecastle. Why should I try?

It is true that there have been Indian sea captains.

The Gayhead Tribe.[2] This tribe occupies a peninsula forming the extreme western part of the Vineyard and connected with

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[1] Report of 1849 pp. 12-17
[2] Report of 1849 pp. 18-24

the rest of the Island by a narrow isthmus, a few rods wide called StoneWall Beach. A small part of the eastern portion of the peninsula is occupied by Whites. The Indian territory is however almost perfectly isolated, being bounded on three sides by the Sea, and on the fourth touching the lands of the Whites only by the narrow neck lying between Squipnocket and Menemsha Ponds. The whole territory comprises 2400 acres; of this 500 are owned in severalty and 1900 acres still held in common. The whole number of the tribe is 174....

Generally they live in framed houses, perhaps a majority having barns. Some of their buildings are of split stone... Almost the only articles cultivated are Indian corn, with occasionally other grain and potatoes. In this respect they are far behind the Christiantown and Chappequiddic Tribes who are getting to appreciate the luxury of sauce gardens...

They received ninety dollars from the two sources above stated which constituted their school fund. The school has a male teacher in the winter and a female in the summer and is kept about five months each year. During the past summer it was taught by Mrs. Mary James, a native. The number present when we visited it was 23...19 boys and 24 girls had attended more or less during the summer. The whole number in the tribe between the ages of 4 and 16 is 52. The wages of the present teacher is $1.50 per week, she boarding herself. The appearance of the school was unpromising in the extreme. The children generally appeared bright, intelligent, and of active minds but almost necessarily from the difficulty of securing good teachers, they receive but little aid in the development of their powers. They are poorly supplied with books, particularly with writing books. A few dollars worth of the books of some of the new systems of penmanship which have been supplanted by a newer system and now lumber the backroom of bookstores would be of great value to them.

The great difficulty with this school and with all the Indian schools, is, they are isolated. They are not under the supervision of the committee of any town; form no part of our common school system, and receive none of the impulses which example and emulation impart to other schools. Remove from the schools of any town in the commonwealth the influences which they receive as a part of the system and how long would it be before they would be sunk to the level of these Indian schools?

The Marshpee Tribe.[1] The territory of this tribe is bounded on the north by Sandwich, east by Barnstable, south by the Vineyard Sound, and west by Falmouth. The whole territory consists of about 13,000 acres of which about 11,000 are owned in severalty...The whole number of the tribe is 305...The pursuits of this tribe with the usual exceptions, are exclus-

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[1]Properly Mashpee Tribe Report of 1849 pp. 24-38

ively agricultural. The soil is various but each allotment usually contains enough of good soil to yield comfortable support to industry and good management. The only articles produced are potatoes and the different grains, most of the families raising enough potatoes for their own use; and from ten to seventy or eighty bushels of corn annually. The larger portion of the tribe secure a tolerably comfortable living; quite a number are poor and improvident, ekeing out a scanty support by begging. They are behind the tribes already considered in the social arts and domestic comforts....

There are two school districts. The state appropriates $160 annually for the purposes of education....The amount appropriated by the district in addition to the above was in 1846- $111.97 and in 1847- $50.43. The commissioner states in his reports that the school was kept in 1846 in the north district two and a half months in the winter at a cost of $64.56 and three months in the summer at a cost of $55; and in the south district three months in the winter at a cost of $91.82 and three months in the summer at a cost of $36...In addition $10.57 was paid for books...We regret that we are compelled to say that the condition of the schools and the benefit derived from them do not seem at all to correspond with the amount appropriated to their support...

One only of the schools, the North, was being kept at the time of our visit. This was taught by Miss Lovell, a competent White teacher. The attendance during the past summer had been very irregular, owing in some degree to the prevalence of whooping cough. At the time of our visit ten only were present. The whole number who had attended during the term was 45 ...Everything about the school looked discouraging. We are compelled to believe that almost the whole interest taken in the schools begins and ends in the payment of money. The teacher has labored with few of those friendly visits which are so important as the aids and incentives to a teacher's efforts...

The Herring Pond Tribe[1]: The territory of this tribe is in the easterly part of Plymouth, a small part lying in the westerly part of Sandwich (now Bourne). It includes about 2500 acres of which about 100 acres are owned in severalty. The whole number of the tribe is 55...The pursuits of this tribe are similar to those of the other tribes. They are generally free from debt and the rule for dividing the land is the same as at Gay Head, each one appropriating such as he needs under the direction of the Treasurer...The plantation is free from debt, and in pecuniary matters is independent.

The state of their school is somewhat better than at Marshpee, but from similar causes is far from what it should be. The number of children between the ages of 4 and 16 is 23.

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[1] Report of 1849 pp. 38-41

The school was not open when we were there. It is kept from four to six months each year. They receive from the State thirty-eight dollars per year for purposes of education. In addition to this amount from $70 to $80 is appropriated annually from the funds of the plantation for the school... The Herring Pond Indians are a quiet, industrious, temperate people. The children are unusually intelligent and interesting.

It is noteworthy that in the State Census of 1870 we find several of the supposed Fresh Pond Indians listed as completely illiterate, that is, unable to read or write. As these individuals are all listed as Negroes[1], although they are of another village or remnant of the above, or Manomet tribe from whose name comes the Monument of Monument Beach, their history seems to have been far less happy.

The Yarmouth Tribe[2]: This tribe from the description given, had no distinct schools or other organization, but were becoming merged with the general population in fact, as they already were in race (nearly every family had intermarried with Whites). The number reported was 58.

Next the Wampanoag Tribe. Of which:

Fall River Indians[3]: They owned 190 acres, of which 20 were owned in severalty. "The soil is generally good, but the indolent and improvident habits of the tribe render it of little use to them as a means of support." Of 37 reported, 18 or 20 lived off the lands. "The means of subsistence are mostly day labor. They have no schools...The children generally have access to the public schools the same as the children of any citizen; there are not over five or six children who are so situated that they can attend school."

Next the Massachuset Tribe:

The Punkapog Tribe[4]: They have no lands and no property of any kind. With few exceptions they are industrious, temperate and capable of supporting themselves. Ten are reported. It is evident that they had no schools.

The Natick Tribe[5]: Practically the tribe is extinct.

Next, the Nipmuck Tribe:

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[1] On page 1622 of the Census of 1870, a woman, born in Ireland and probably White was reckoned as Negro as well as her probably Negro husband. (Town of Wareham).

[2] Report of 1849 pp. 46-48

[3] Report of 1849 pp. 41-42

[4] Report of 1849 pp. 44-45

[5] Report of 1849 pp. 45-46

Dudley Tribe[1]: The territory of this tribe amounted to about 30 acres in the town of Webster. It has never been divided...The whole number is 48...About half of the number live on the territory. This tribe have reached a lower deep than any other in the state. A few get an honest living by cultivating their land, and by going out to work...They have no schools and no preaching, are ignorant, improvident and degraded to the lowest degree. (N.B. This is contradicted by Earle's Report for 1861.)

The Hassanamisco or Grafton Tribe[2]: The whole territory in Grafton besides small amounts owned by individuals in adjoining towns is 25 acres. They have no common lands. The number of the tribe is 26...Generally the Grafton Indians are industrious, temperate, and comfortable...Of course this tribe has no separate schools or preaching. Their children attend public schools. They will soon undoubtedly lose their individuality and become merged in the general community.

Report of 1861 In 1861 there was published a further report of the Commissioner John Milton Earle.

Chappequiddick Tribe[3]: The number reported including one family in New Bedford, and one in Edgartown, was 74. It received $100 a year from the School Fund which gives them about five months schooling. The average attendance the past season was 12 which considering that there are but 16 children of Indian descent between the ages of 4 and 16 on the Island is a very good proportion, indicating a very commendade interest on the part of the parents in the education of their offspring. The amount of schooling is considerably abridged by the necessity of purchasing fuel, there being no wood on the plantation.

It is unfortunate that this school and those of the other tribes make no part of the great school system (Note that the same criticism was voiced in 1849) of the state, and that they are isolated and cut off from the rest..where it is practicable it would be far better to bring the children into the adjacent district schools..it would create a natural and beneficial emulation and by bringing the children together mitigate if not remove the mutual prejudices which more or less prevail.

In 1936 the present writer visited the Chappequiddic

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[1] Report of 1849 pp. 42-44

[2] Report of 1849, p. 44

[3] Earle's Report of 1861 pp. 15-25

Reservation. The name Schoolhouse Hill alone preserved the memory of this school, with such difficulty maintained. At that time, the only schoolchild on the Island, an Indian named Milton Jeffers, attended school in Edgartown, whither he went by ferry.

Christiantown Tribe[1]: Of these 53 were reported... The amount expended for schools here is $100 a year the same as at Chappequiddick. This gives them about five and a half months schooling in the year, the last two terms having been two months in the winter and three and a half in the summer. There are only about 15 minors on the plantation of age suitable to attend school and of these two or three of the girls whose parents are very poor, have been obliged to be out at service to obtain suitable clothing for themselves, so that the school is of no benefit to them[2]. The average attendance the last season has not been more than 8 to 10 scholars. In 1910 only three remained at Christiantown.

They now live elsewhere. The school is preserved as an historical monument.

Gay Head Tribe[3]: Another most urgent need is of suitable books and stationery for the children at school. These cannot be had without ready money and a large portion of the residents find it as much as they can do to provide clothing such as will make their children appear decent at school and it is believed that much of the benefit which might be derived from the schooling is lost for the want of such books and stationery as are necessary for the use of scholars. This waste of time and loss of opportunity for education should not be permitted by the State to one of the most unfortunate classes of the population. In view of the improvement they have made, under such adverse circumstances, and of the disposition they have manifested for bettering their condition, it is but reasonable to believe that the proposed assistance would afford at once an opportunity and a stimulus for further progress in the right direction.

Cape Cod Indians-

[1] Earle's Report of 1861 pp. 25-29
[2] The practice of binding out, which was noted above was one plan for the education and Christianization of the Indian may have been the greatest drawback to his development.
[3] Earle's Report of 1861 p. 37

Marshpee Tribe[1]: (55) In 1856 the Legislature added $165 a year to the amount on condition that the district should appropriate $75 and thus make the whole up to $400 a year. This has been done by the district so that the average annual length of the two schools is about eight months. A marked improvement has resulted from the increased appropriation in the character of the school and in the interest manifested in their success; an interest which if properly sustained, promises most beneficial results in the future. The people are now anxious for increased advantages of this kind and instructed the undersigned commissioner through their committee to ask on their behalf, an additional appropriation from the School Fund of $75 a year and thus make up the full sum applicable to the support of both schools to $500 a year. This would give them about ten months schooling: and when it is considered that a great portion of their children are obliged to leave the schools as soon as they get to an age which makes their services valuable in obtaining the means of support for themselves and the families to which they belong, it seems very desirable that during the short period of their school life, they should have the opportunity of attending school as large a portion of the time as is consistent with a sound and healthy physical development. The schools are now in good condition, compared with what they formerly were, and the average attendance is about 80% of the whole number of scholars, which, considering the tender age of many of them and the great distance that a portion of them have to travel to reach the school, may be considered very good.

The school in the North district the present year (1859) was kept by Mrs. Ann Fallon who appears every way competent to the situation and manifests a laudable interest in the improvement of those under her charge. The visit of your Commissioner to the School was quite satisfactory to him. He did not have the opportunity of visiting the school in the South district which was taught during the last summer by Miss Nellie C. Davis but he had a satisfactory report of its condition. The state of advancement of the pupils in these schools will not, of course, bear comparison with the district schools in our towns. The time has not come for that, but, considering the former low state of education in the district, and the disadvantages under which they labor in the want of instruction at home and of association with educated people with others incident to their peculiar condition, the progress is such as to give cause for hopeful anticipation in the future...(page 60 note) During the year 1860 the Sabbath School library of the district has been largely increased by donations from the Baptist friends of this people in Boston through the influence of a Boston lady who visited them and interested herself in their Sabbath Schools.

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[1]Earle's Report of 1861 pp. 67-70

The Herring Pond Tribe[1]: The number on the Plantation was 45. The mortality in this tribe within a few years past has been really great, exceeding even that at Christiantown and Chappequiddick...They attend the public schools.

[1]Earle's Report of 1861 p. 55

CHAPTER IX : THE PRESENT PHASE

(Gay Head, Herring Pond, and Mashpee)

We shall not attempt a step-by-step account of these remaining Indian schools of the State. It is not even claimed that these and other remnants are essentially Indian. The groups are,historically and traditionally; but while not unknown, aboriginal features are very seldom predominant, especially in the last generation. It is the opinion of the writer that the interplay of Red, White and Black blood has preserved the identity of the Indian more than if he had been absorbed by one race only. Many possess all three ancestries. It is an unfortunate libel to assert, as is often done, that they are totally lost in admixture with the African. There is some reason to suspect that New Bedford has a larger Indian population than either of the towns mentioned above, but they do not form a distinct community, and have no distinct schools. The available Census figures do not support this view, but they are of little value in regard to the Indians of Massachusetts.[1]

Gay Head. The school was supplied by young ladies from other towns on the Island, one of whom, Miss Mary Jane Tilton (Mrs. Cottle) was especially remembered for her care and attention to her charges. "Mrs. Martha Jane Cottle says that such little

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[1]...(Mohegan Population)...evidently lessened through the claim of some of the Indians who passed as White. The enumerations for the Eastern tribes are, however, generally worthless in this census. (And in others likewise..E.T.)
Frank G. Speck Native Tribes and Dialects of Connecticut
Washington 1928

tots were sent to her school sometimes that she would fold up her shawl and fix for them a cot on a bench where they might take a nap."[1]

Reverend Mr. Hatch, a missionary preacher (1861-1865) gave a new impetus to the cause. "Those students who had the desire and those whom he could influence to learn more than was provided in the curriculum were encouraged to come to his home where he taught them the higher and more useful branches. His untimely death seemed a blow to the prospects of the scholars."[2] His successor, Rev. George B. Fitts of Middleboro, (1866) was just out of college and for nearly three years was their good philospher and friend, and successful. "Mr. Fitts was the friend and companion of his scholars as well as their teacher. He joined in their sports, festivities and social gatherings without any loss of either dignity, authority, or respect. Social entertainments of wide scope and variety were given under him, and all around much good was accomplished."[3]

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[1]Mrs. Mary A. Clegett Vanderhoop, History and Traditions of the Gay Head Indians in New Bedford Standard, in Banks' Book of Documents on Gay Head in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[2]Charles A. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, Vol. 2, Annals of Gay Head, p. 27, Boston 1911.

[3]Mrs. Vanderhoop, op. cit.

"Through his influence philanthropic people in Boston became interested in the work, funds were secured for the modern equipment of a schoolhouse and visits of influential patrons gave an added encouragement to the pupils."[1] We are told that he "was the means of fitting a number of his pupils to teach; and there still remain in print, examples of the extra work he accomplished in his school colloquies or school exhibitions for which he trained his older pupils. These when printed, formed the chief contents of his ephemeral local paper which he called "The Gay Head Light."[2]

In 1869 the school term comprised eight months and the expense of about $300 was borne in part by the State. A special committee of the Legislature reporting favorably on this matter in that year, reported: In view of the peculiar situation of this people and their circumstances, we earnestly hope this aid will be continued. In no better way can the Commonwealth compensate the long years of degradation to which an unjust denial of the rights of citizenship doomed them than by generous assistance towards the education of their children....The recommendation of this committee were adopted and until 1889 when this state aid was withdrawn, the school had the benefit of twenty years of satisfactory maintenance. Since then the ability of the town to give proper financial support to the school

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[1] Charles A. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, vol. 2, p. 27, Boston 1911

[2] Edward S. Burgess, The Old South Road of Gay Head, p. 20 Edgartown, 1926

has greatly increased and a term of nine months is now provided with two teachers. Scholarships have been presented by public-spirited friends and one of the boys has taken a course at the Boston Latin School. Some local boys and girls became teachers, at home and in the southern states.[1]

Gay Head Today The present writer visited the school at Gay Head on May 23, 1949. The building is not new (but not identical with the Chapel, as was thought in Allan Forbes, Other Indian Events of New England pp. 26-7. Boston 1941 (State Street Company)).

Capacity: Two rooms, only one in use. Only about 13 pupils at present.

Material: Wood, shingled, white trim.

Lighting: Windows; no artificial lighting. This does not bother except in fog.

Heat: Coal Heater with exposed pipe.

Teacher: Miss Bertha Mayhew (It is almost three hundred years since the first Mayhew opened an Indian school on the island. Miss Mayhew is a graduate of Boston University.

Grades: 1,2,3,4,6. The one weakness of the school is the large number of grades and classes which stretches a teacher very thin.

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[1]Banks, op. cit., p. 27.

Subjects and Proficiency: Good. Good writers (They write like their teacher). Good in Arithmetic. Geography and History only fair. Very good in Art. Little attention to local history.

Race: To appearances, 4 Whites and 9 Natives. One was half-Filipino. The lightkeeper and his family are not natives, although one of his predecessors was. None of the pupils looked predominantly Indian, although some local children are said to. Forbes in the brochure quoted, spoke of ninety Indian voters. At this time the population of the town is not large, some say not over ninety persons (winter population). It lost its post office several years ago.

Duration: Full year, actually about thirty-five weeks.

High School Attendance: Three

Proportion retained in the Town: Strong tendency for the ambitious to leave the Head.

College Attendance: At least three. One in Boston University. A number of Gay Head children in school away from the island.

Religion: The Church is Baptist. There are only one or two Catholics in town.

Occupation: Little opportunity on the Island, except for fishing. One man farms to some extent; still has a yoke of oxen. One woman can make baskets. An inn

(Stoney Squaw) is maintained in the summer. Many have done well elsewhere. One girl is an airplane hostess. Some are employed in the Indian Service.

Textbooks: Ample, liberal source of supplies. Large use of workbooks necessitated.

Health: Good, but many colds.

Per Cent of attendance: 85, held down by reason stated above.

Recreation: Very little equipment, but they seem to do well. They collect flowers in spring; also frogs, etc.

There is a good library of 3000 volumes under the direction of Mrs. Linus Jeffers which is housed in the Town Hall. The town ranks high for per capita use of its books. While good for the size of the town, and its resources could be extended.

Mrs. Jeffers also conducts a successful Sunday School, which the writer did not see. The Sunday School dates from 1827.

A number of the people of this town have obtained a college education, and in a previous visit, the writer was informed that the number of pianos equalled the number of autos. My informant was a painter of landscapes, one of which, of a ruinated stone house was quite impressive. At least one of the stone houses is still inhabited.

Herring Pond At Herring Pond throughout this period there has been only a Sunday School, which the writer did not visit, as it does not seem to be in session. Herring Pond Plantation,

as it was once called, is practically a disintegrated community, and has little besides its Baptist Church to hold it together.

On a previous visit, the writer was told of an Indian attending Plymouth High School from here, and complaining bitterly of persecution.

Mashpee The educational progress of Mashpee seems more happy to the writer than that of Gay Head, largely because the place is less isolated, and for economic reasons, although probably a much smaller percent have college training. To give historical perspective, we here quote a few paragraphs of testimony at a hearing held at Mashpee just before it became a town:[1]

(10) MATTHIAS AMOS: You can't expect much eloquence from me. When I was a boy there were no schools in this place. I went to Sea very young and for that reason I come up uneducated.

(16) MR. SIMONS: They have got more knowledge. They have not got money enough nor education enough either for this change but they have a great deal more than they had thirty years ago. I think they are getting more money. Their places look better; their houses are better. I don't know that they have more stock than thirty years ago but they have more dwelling houses; are clothed better and are more temperate.

MR. SEWALL: When I came here there was very few houses plastered and furnished. Now they have better houses and have them furnished too; log-houses and wigwams have disappeared. The people live different and better - more like civilized people. They set their tables with a tablecloth and all the etceteras you see in gentlemen's houses...Intemperance has disappeared. I don't know of any liquor that is sold in the place.

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[1]House 502 Hearing Before the Committee on Indians at Mashpee 1869

(19) JOSEPH AMOS: And now I think that this is my view, if this generation, now in their schoolroom can be allowed to complete their education before this change takes place, I think when that is done we shall be ready for it...

MR. POCKNET: Yes, sir. When they are amply ready for it but they are not ready for it yet. The common school education is as high as we can get now, at the present time in this town. There are none of us capable of sending our children to a high school or academy.

The mother of the writer taught school near Mashpee about 1886. At that time, a young woman, hired to teach in Mashpee, but who protested that she had not known that it were a "colored school", complained much of their progress, especially that what was taught one day had to be completely retaught the next."

Since that time a number of Mashpee students have secured college educations, including Nelson Drew Simons at Suffolk Law School, where he was humorously known as a Pequot., and Kenneth C. Coombs, now principal of the Samuel G. Davis School.

Mashpee Today The writer visited the Samuel G. Davis School in Mashpee on June 8, 1949. There is a view of the former schoolhouse at Mashpee with a closeup of three pupils (date 1907) in Dr. Frank G. Speck, Territorial Subdivisions and Boundaries of the Wampanoag, Massachusett, and Nauset Indians, p. 104, New York, 1928.

The noteworthy thing about Mashpee, as in Gay Head, the Light and the Cliffs, now badly eroded, is the modern brick

school. We will first give the popular version:[1]

Some years ago a gentleman from Boston was driving through Mashpee, and his hat blew off. A young Mashpee lad, who raced after the hat, grabbed it and ran back to the gentleman, who offered him a dime. "No, thank you," said the dusky boy. "My mother taught me not to accept anything for doing favors."

Samuel G. Davis, the gentleman from Boston who had offered the boy the ten cents, was strangely attracted to the lad for his commendable attitude. When Davis died shortly afterwards, his will revealed an unusual bequest to the town of Mashpee. It was a gift of real estate, stocks, and bonds, called The Kind Good Manners Fund. The entire income was to be used for medals and prizes for courtesy shown by the school children of Mashpee. The total cost of the prizes ran to less than two hundred dollars, and after a few years the Mashpee citizens found the estate of fifty thousand dollars increasing rapidly. About the same time they also noticed that a new school was needed. Therefore they petitioned the Probate Court for permission to use the surplus to build a new school, as the old building was badly in need of repairs. All was ready for the erection of the school, but suddenly came bad news. The Court had denied the request of the people of Mashpee, because this would not be in keeping with the wishes of the donor, as definitely expressed in the will, so their plans were abandoned.

Without contradicting the above, the school is there, partly due to federal assistance. From the copy of the will, given the writer by Mr. James F. Peebles, of Buzzards Bay, local superintendent of Schools, I copy the following "as by family tradition one of my ancestors was an Indian woman of Concord, Mass. (probably Nashobah)".

Mashpee today The writer visited the Samuel G. Davis school in Mashpee on June 8, 1949.

Date of Construction: About 1939

Capacity: About 150. There are about 75.

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[1]Edward Rowe Snow, A Pilgrim Returns to Cape Cod, p. 294 Boston, 1946

Material: Brick, modern.

Lighting: Electric.

Heat: Hot water.

Teacher: Principal of local origin, graduate of State Teachers' College, Bridgewater, Mass. Four teachers and music supervisor.

Grades: Eight; two to a room.

Subjects: Very good in Arithmetic, is the report of one teacher.

Race: Difference of race and background is problem. Perhaps one-fifth White. (Population of town about 450). Writer only saw one pupil who seemed definitely aboriginal. This pupil had a high I.Q., but was a disposition problem.

Duration: Thirty-eight weeks.

Attendance: No truant officer. Pupils come when they should stay at home. Pupils described the school to the writer as "the best school in the United States." Anyone could see that it were popular.

High School Attendance: At Falmouth about thirty. When there were three local teachers many more dropped out here.

Proportion retained: Few opportunities in Mashpee. Evidently however it keeps its population better than Gay Head. Say half retained.

College Attendance: About five.

Religion: Predominantly Protestant. (Baptist) At least

ninety percent.

Occupation: Chiefly manual labor.

Textbooks: Excellent. Most rooms had good libraries. Room for movies.

Health: Good.

Recreation: Baseball and basketball. Movies twice monthly some educational, some recreational.

Many good features not mentioned, as school lunch project. (Gay Head has in winter.)

On inquiry, one boy knew one word of the local dialect (which has not been checked up on). There is a mimeographed sheet of interest called The Weekly News, which contained some interesting items upon local history. The third grade studies "extensively the geography and history of Mashpee, and then the rest of the villages of Cape Cod."[1]

General Summary It is like changing centuries to pass from Gay Head to Mashpee. This is not a reflection upon the instruction in either town. Gay Head goes without many things which it does not miss, because it has always gone without them; and has an unreasonable teaching load, because of a shortage of scholars. Mashpee benefits from the foresight that established a teaching plant not comparable with what it replaced. The same problems are there but the conditions are much more favorable for coping with them. Relatively Gay Head

[1] Seventy-seventh Annual Report of the Town Officers of the Town of Mashpee (1947) : Report of the Principal, p. 97, Falmouth 1948

has the better library; for school uses Mashpee seems to need it less; but for the adult population could probably do better. Both could be more useful in the department of local history. Above all, Gay Head should have her post-office, if only to pay the debt the White Man owes the Red, in Massachusetts for past degradations, and for the heroic rescue, among others, of thirteen from the City of Columbus, in 1884. (Allan Forbes, Other Indian Events, op. cit., p. 28-9)

CONCLUSION

It is to be regretted that Massachusetts in her early past did so little of a practical nature for the education of her Indian population. That the systematic education began with the Indian college was a failing. The Grammar School at Cambridge was more practical, but seems to have likewise come to nothing. If Samson Occom had gone to College, he might have become a useless pedant, more learned but less useful to the true business of life. As it was, although he was useful in paving the way for Dartmouth College, to his own people in their land disputes which needed his assistance, he was lost. The project for his people for which he gave so much attention can hardly be considered an unqualified success. The writer visited Brotherton (Wisconsin) about July fourth, 1944, and it possessed six Indian residents, rather pure in blood, representing several levels of wealth, but rather sorry as the fossil of a town. It is true that scattered through the West, the Brothertowns are said to be happy; but at home these six men were not. Their church is closed, although there is a large enough White population to maintain it. Liquor shops seem more popular. The moral is to us evident: that one cannot run away from destiny, and in sound circumstances competence might have been provided for the Indian in his ancestral home, instead of trekking as some did to the South Seas, or to Australia.

To the problems and history detailed here, only three

CONCLUSION - Continued

systems may be traced; Gay Head, Mashpee and Herringpond. To them this is a rather belated and preliminary sketch of their past.

APPENDICES AND EXHIBITS

EDUCATIONAL TERMS IN INDIANE

from the

VOCABULARY OF JOSIAH COTTON

of a school	-Auhtonnetontomuck
a little book	-peawussukhonk
The book is old	-Wussoohquohhonk sonkqui
To write a book	-Wussohkham ūnat, wussukquohhonk
exercise, exercises	-kuhktumteaonk, -ash
God's word	- wuttinnowaonk God
a history	- pahke, Woshwunumoonk
ignorant	- Asookitcheg
learning	- kodnehtotoonk
To learn	-Nehtuhtauonat
a hard lesson	- siokke kodnehtantoonk
a letter or word	- kuttooonk
a letter (epistle)	-(wussukwhonk; proper meaning - a painting)
melody	- Wunontoowaonk
a pen	- meek
rule, rules	- kukkehheg, kuhkehhegash
scholar	- kodnehtuhto
schoolmaster	- kuhktumwehtaenin
sense or meaning	- nauwuttamoonk
story, stories	- unnehtongquat, -ash
studying, studied	-natwontamunat
we teach, or did	- Nukkuhktumwehteamun, -nonup

EDUCATIONAL TERMS - (continued)

to be taught	- kuhkoutaumauonat
to be wise	- waantamununat
Can you write?	- Sun woh kꝏsꝑhqꝏhhan?

Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language by Josiah Cotton 1707-8 pp. 147-257, vol 22 Massachusetts Historical Society Collections.

THE MASSACHUSET ALPHABET FROM ELIOT'S GRAMMAR,

as given in Josiah Cotton's Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (or Natick) Indian Language in Massachusetts Historical Collections volume 22 pp. 147 seq.

1. The difficulty of the rule about the letter C by reason of the change of its sound in the five sounds ca ce ci co cu being sufficiently helped by the letters K and S we therefore lay by the letter C saving in Ch; of which there is frequent use in the language. Yet I do not put it out of the alphabet - but for the use of it in other languages, put the character Ch next to it and call it chee.

2. I put I consonant into our alphabet and give it this character J; and call it ji or gi as this syllable soundeth in the English word giant, and I place it next after I vocal; and I have done this because it is a regular sound in the third person singular in the Imperative mode of verbs which cannot well be distinguished without; tho I have sometimes used Gh instead of it as the English word age soundeth.

See it used Genesis 13, 6, 9, 11

3. We give V consonant a distinct name by putting together Uf or Uph and we never use it save when it soundeth as it doth in the word a save, have and place it next after U vocal. Both these letters (U vocal and U consonant) are together in their proper sounds in the Latine word uva, a vine.

MASSACHUSET ALPHABET (continued)

4. We call W wee because our name giveth no hint of the power of its sound...

Especially we have more frequent use of o and than other languages have; and our doth always sound as in the English words, moody, book.

LETTER OF COTTON MATHER
in regard to the
Projected Third Edition of the Indian Bible[1]
(1710)

Honble Sir,-

Your Stewards and Servants, the Commissioners to whom the honorable Corporation for propagating the Gospel among our Indians have committed a more immediate and subordinate management of that affair, we hope do and shall observe most exactly all your Directions with all possible Conformity. Among your Directions, you have been pleased to propose a New Edition of the Indian Bible, in which your orders, if they be continued, will be religiously complied withall. But because it can hardly be well entered upon before we may have some Answer to this Address we now make unto you, We improve the present opportunity humbly to lay before you the Sentiments which your Commissioners here generally have of the matter; and not they only, but we suppose the Generality of the more considerat Gentlemen through the Countrey. Indeed the considerations which we have already and almost unawares insinuated, may be of some weight in the matter. For if the printing of the Psalter with the Gospel of John, in so correct a manner as may be for Satisfaction, have taken up so long a time, as above a year; how much time will necessarily go to so great a Work as that of the Whole Bible. For the doing of which also,

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[1]George Parker Winship, The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692, pp. 174-176, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1945.

it will be necessary to take off those persons from their Ministry among the Indians, who are of all men the most essential to the Indian Service.

In the meantime 'tis the opinion of many, That as little Money as would be expended on a new edition of the Bible (and not much more time) would go very far towards bringing them to be a sort of English Generation. It is very sure The best thing we can do for our Indians is to Anglicize them in all agreeable Instances; and in that Language, as well as others. They can scarce retain their Language, without a Tincture of other Salvage Inclinations, which do but ill suit, either with the Honor, or with the designs of Christianity. The Indians themselves are divided in the Desires upon this Matter. Tho' some of their aged men are tenacious enough of Indianisme (which is not at all to be wondered at) Others of them as earnestly wish that their people may be made English as fast as they can.

The reasons they assign for it are very weighty ones; and this among the rest, That their Indian Tongue is a very penurious one (tho' the Words are long enough!) and the great things of our Holy Religion brought unto them in it, unavoidably arrive in Terms that are scarcely more intelligible to them than if they were entirely English. But the English tongue would presently give them a Key to all our Treasures, and make them Masters of another sort of Library than any that ever will be seen in their Barbarous Linguo. And such of them

as can speak English, find themselves vastly accommodated for the entertaining and communicating of Knowledge, beyond what they were before. And it is hoped, That by good English Schools among the Indians, and some other fit methods, the grand intention of Anglicizing them would be soon accomplished.

The truth is, when we sit down and count the cost, we suspect our Ability to go through the Cost of printing the Bible, and yet supporting the annual expenses which must be born on other Accounts, or else the Evangelical work among the Indians falls to the ground. That which adds a great weight unto the Scale we are upon, is this: The Indians, though their number and their distance be now so small, do considerably differ in their Dialect. But if it be done in the Noop Dialect, which would best suit the most valuable body of our surviving Indians: those on the Main, and at Nantucket would not understand it so well as they should. The Books are written by two eminent Preachers in their Tongue, the Indians complain of a Difference in them that is considerable. Their Language is also continually changing, old words wearing out, and new ones coming on. And a discreet person whom we lately imployed in a visitation to the Indian Villages, inserts this as one article in his report, about this particular matter.

There are many words of Mr. Eliot's forming wch they never understood. This, they say, is a grief to them. Such a knowledge in their Bibles, as our English ordinarily have in ours, they seldom any of them have; and there seems to be as much difficulty to bring them into a complete knowledge of the Scriptures, as it would be to get a sensible acquaintance with the English tongue.

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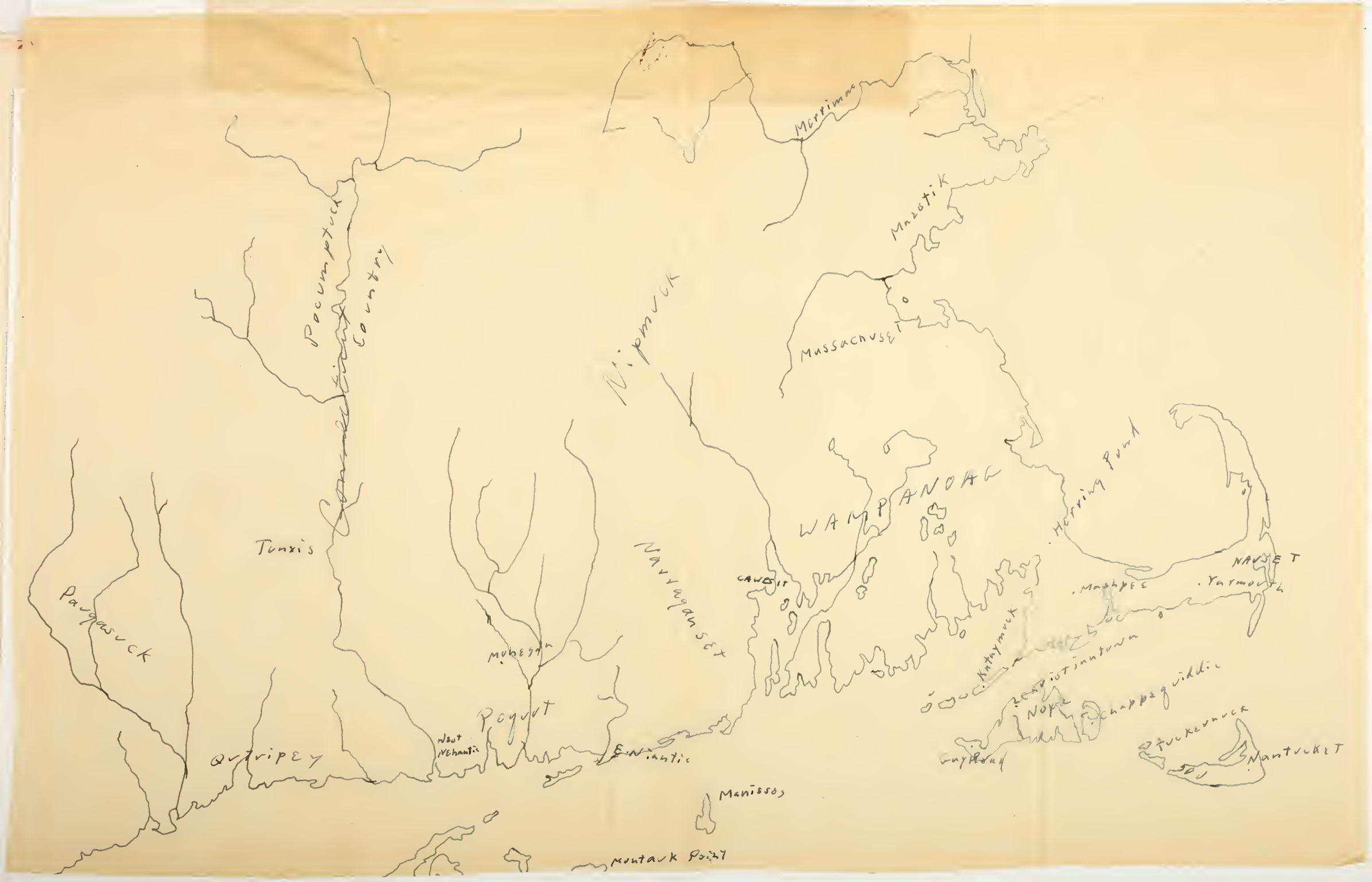
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